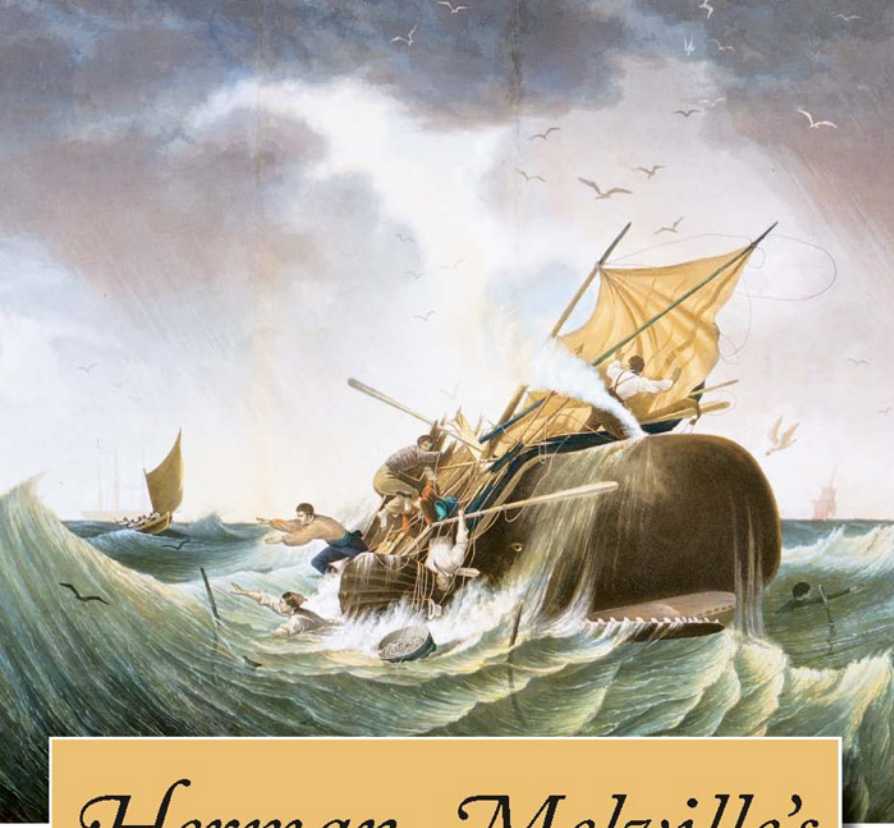

Herman Melville's Whaling Years

WILSON HEFLIN

Edited by Mary K. Bercaw Edwards
and Thomas Farel Heffernan

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To my family
who shares
my love of literature
and the sea

W L H

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I

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Although the Melville field has become in one sense highly competitive, its scholars have been most unselfish in sharing the results of their painstaking research. Jay Leyda suggested many a fruitful clue to investigation and

allowed the author to see the galley proofs of *The Melville Log,* a most significant landmark in Melville biography; exchanging information with him was one of the real pleasures of this work. The first chapter of this book would be less detailed and accurate without the kindness of William H. Gilman of the University of Rochester who allowed me use of the discoveries he later published in *Melville's Early Life and* Redburn. The author is similarly obligated to Harrison Hayford of Northwestern University for permission to study his penetrating notes for his edition of *Omoo.* Without the advantage of having ever present the scholarly studies of Charles R. Anderson and Robert S. Forsythe—pioneer explorers of these waters—the sailing would have been rougher and more hazardous.

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II

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Editors' Preface

For years the log of the *USF United States,* the ship on which Herman Melville served after his whaling career had come to an end, lay on a shelf in the National Archives in Washington. It would be hard to think of a more important source than this log for the study of Melville's fifth novel, *White-Jacket,* which the author based on his experiences aboard the ship. Pioneering researchers like Wilson Heflin and Jay Leyda were just the people to find it; the strange thing is that they not only both found it, but even found it the very same day. Their reactions when they met at the desk in the Archives' reading room were more than incredulity when they realized that they had simultaneously turned in call slips for the prized log. "We almost had a fist fight over it," Heflin said.

Of course they did not, and of course—for happy outcomes really do occur—they became close friends and colleagues. Leyda, whose *The Melville Log* is an incomparable contribution to Melville studies, relied heavily on Heflin for answers to questions about Melville and the sea. In time the Melville scholarly community did too. Heflin's published articles, some of which are listed in the bibliography of this book, delivered discoveries that became permanent Melville references—see, for example, "Melville's Third Whaler," which identifies the ship on which Melville sailed from Eimeo near Tahiti to Hawaii and on which he probably had his best experiences as a whaleman.

Born in 1913 in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Heflin attended Birmingham-Southern College and went on to earn his master's degree and doctorate at Vanderbilt University. From 1937 to 1941 he taught in the English Department of the University of Alabama and from 1942 to 1943 he was a member of the English Department of Vanderbilt University. From 1943 to 1946 he was a flight instructor in the U.S. Navy. In 1946 he joined the faculty of the U.S. Naval Academy, where he taught until the time of his death in 1985. A founding member of the Melville Society, he was its president in 1958.

From graduate school to his last day at the Naval Academy, Heflin was devoted to the study of Melville and the sea. It was his life's work, as one would easily conclude from his publications and from a look at the 20 boxes of his nautical and literary archive now housed in the Newberry Library in Chicago.

The distillation of that lifetime of research is the present book. Why

did the book remain unpublished after more than a half-century of work? A plausible answer is that Heflin's collection of material never ended. It would not have seemed right to him to let the book out without the material that continued to accrete as correspondents sent him hitherto unknown records or as repositories near and far continued to yield key documents. His narrowly defined articles he could publish, but the scope of this book was to be as large as the ocean; it never seemed finished.

The editors of the book have had to declare it finished, even as they recognize that generations of scholars to come are going to shed new light on many aspects of Herman Melville, including Melville the whaleman. It is proper to explain the editorial principles that governed the preparation of this volume. The first principle was that it had to be Wilson Heflin's book; it was not the occasion for new ventures into investigation of Melville and whaling except to the extent that Heflin would have made those ventures himself. The second principle was that reorganization of the manuscript and changes in phrasing were to be undertaken only when there was reason to believe that the author would have made those changes.

Fortunately for the editors, the Heflin archive contains several files that provide a good indication of the author's intentions about revision. The first is a set of notes focusing especially on placement of subjects in the book. The others are a 37-page detailed criticism of Heflin's manuscript and a file of correspondence from his most important adviser on the early editing of the manuscript. In the mid-1950s Heflin had a contract with New York University Press for the publication of the book; it was his good fortune, while working with the press, to have as his editor Wilson Follett. The Follett critical notes and letters contain detailed advice on the preparation of the manuscript for publication, advice that by all surviving indications Heflin welcomed and with which he agreed. Another important indication of the guidance from which Heflin benefited is the 20 pages of typed comments on the manuscript sent to Heflin by Charles F. Batchelder, Jr., from whom the author also received the loan of many rare whaling documents. These scholars, along with Jay Leyda, Leon Howard, and Harrison Hayford, contributed significantly to the final *Herman Melville's Whaling Years.* The present editors, sensitive to the role of these eminent past Melvillians, are happy to have had their guidance and their company in the final stage of this book's creation.

Had the NYU Press contract not been allowed to lapse—the reason for the lapse was probably the reason suggested above, that Heflin could never say the work was complete—Wilson Heflin's recognition as *the* authority on Melville and whaling would have been a commonplace early on in Melville scholarship.

The editors have added new material only in the appendices and notes,

and have identified it as such. This, they feel, has been done in keeping with the second principle articulated above, namely that Heflin would have added such material if the sources had been available to him. Minor changes in phrasing in the text and in the notes have been silently made. The book may be compared with the earliest form of Heflin's work on Melville and whaling, his Vanderbilt University dissertation (1952). Occasionally, as in Chapter 2, the format has been changed. A sizable excision of biographical material on Melville was made in Chapter 1; details that would have been unfamiliar in the 1950s have become more widely familiar thanks to recent biographical studies and need not be rehearsed in this book.

The facts and the traces of facts that Heflin was able to work with are definable. Herman Melville left for his first whaling voyage on the Fairhaven, Massachusetts, whaleship *Acushnet* on January 3, 1841. The ensuing three-and-a-half years of his life immersed Melville in experiences far beyond the horizons of his staid upper-middle-class boyhood—experiences on which he drew repeatedly in his writing, from his very successful first novel *Typee* to his masterpiece *Moby-Dick.* While glimpses of these days appear in the fictionalized and reworked events, characters, and settings rendered in Melville's rich prose, other records of the details of this period are hard to come by. So far as is known, the original log of the *Acushnet* has not survived. No personal journals of the voyage have yet been found. The log of the *Acushnet* was abstracted, however, by Captain Daniel McKenzie in 1848 for Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury. This abstract log still exists, kept in the National Archives, and contains much information, including latitude and longitude, weather, when whales were raised, and the bearings and distances of islands sighted. But much we would love to know is missing. First of all, the abstract log does not begin until March 22, 1841—77 days after the *Acushnet* left port. And, although it records every time whales were sighted, it does not tell whether the boats were lowered or whether any whales were captured. Filling in the information left out of the abstract log occupied much of Heflin's time.

For his Ph.D. dissertation, Heflin set himself the monumental task of searching out every available contemporary record of the vessels, individuals, and surroundings with which Melville had contact in the extraordinary and influential years of his life spent on board whaleships. Heflin combed through all the logs he could find of vessels that were at sea when the *Acushnet* was. For instance, the *Acushnet* was fighting her way around Cape Horn in mid-April 1841, and Heflin notes, "It is quite possible that the *Acushnet* passed in these waters the homeward-bound whaler *Huntress* on either April 16 or April 17. A comparative plot of the tracks of the two ships (based on their abstract logs . . .) shows that between noons of April 16–17 their tracks were almost parallel

and no more than five miles apart. Their possible meeting is of significance because Melville mentions the *Huntress* in *Redburn* as the vessel in which Harry Bolton perished" (notes to Chapter 9).

The *Acushnet* cruised through the In-Shore and Off-Shore Grounds. When another vessel was sighted, the two vessels "spoke": exchanged names, home ports, months out to sea, and barrels of whale oil stowed. Heflin writes, for example, "Just before she reached the Line, the *Acushnet* hailed on Saturday, October 23, the barque *United States* of Westport, Massachusetts, twelve months, 300 barrels. . . . Captain Pease reported 720 barrels of sperm oil for his ship's ten months of whaling" (Chapter 11)—a fact that was duly recorded in the *United States*'s logbook and later found by Heflin. Often the logbooks themselves do not survive, but the information does, recorded in newspapers. Gathering all these facts—150 barrels of oil stowed down aboard the *Acushnet* by March 13; 160 by May 8; 350 by July 4; 600 by September 25; 720 by October 23, etc.—Heflin figured out the details of the voyage. He knew from the abstract log that a lone "Sperm Whale" was sighted on July 25, but the day was "rugged with rain" (Chapter 11) and evidently the whale was not taken. Heflin deduced the latter from the newspaper account of the whaleship *Midas,* which spoke the *Acushnet* on August 9 and reported the same number of barrels as the whaleship *William Wirt* had on July 4. Thus, like a detective, Heflin sorted through all the evidence and set his conclusions before the reader for week after week and month after month of Melville's years at sea.

One's respect for Heflin grows as one sees how much he was able to put on the record. Look at Heflin's chapter on the crew of the *Acushnet,* for example. Charles Roberts Anderson, in *Melville in the South Seas* (1939), discusses the crew and quotes Melville's manuscript memorandum, "What became of the ship's company of the whale-ship 'Acushnet,' according to [Henry F.] Hubbard who came home in her . . . and who visited me at Pittsfield. in 1850." Anderson identified eighteen of the twenty-five men in Hubbard's list. Leon Howard, in his *Herman Melville: A Biography* (1951), described the crew in general terms. But Heflin identified the original twenty-six crew members and the four who joined while Melville was aboard. He mentions twenty-five others shipped by Captain Pease after Melville's desertion, making a total of fifty-five men who served aboard the *Acushnet* on her maiden voyage.

Anderson and Heflin both reported that Henry F. Hubbard told Melville that Frederick Raymond, the first mate, "had a fight with the Captain & went ashore at Payta." Heflin, however, additionally confirmed this with a consular certificate signed on December 14, 1842, by the United States consul at Payta. Heflin identified the *Acushnet*'s deserters and those discharged from her, citing consular certificates and sworn affidavits ferreted out from archives

around the world. The amount of work Heflin did in digging out information is astounding; his facts are invaluable.

Heflin even confirmed scenes that seem utterly unrealistic and nothing more than the wanton fantasy of a sailor's brain. Chapter 2 of Melville's first book, *Typee,* ends with a scene of the whaleship *Dolly* surrounded by a shoal of Nukahivan girls. Melville writes, "As they drew nearer, and I watched the rising and sinking of their forms, and beheld the uplifted right arm bearing above the water the girdle of tappa, and their long dark hair trailing beside them as they swam, I almost fancied they could be nothing else than so many mermaids:—and very like mermaids they behaved too. We were still some distance from the beach, and under slow headway, when we sailed right into the midst of these swimming nymphs" (2:14). Eleven days after the *Acushnet* came to anchor in Nukahiva the Nantucket whaleship *Potomac* arrived; Heflin was the first to find an entry in the *Potomac*'s logbook that gives surprising authority to what otherwise might have seemed fanciful in the *Typee* account: "[I]n a few minutes the decks [of the *Potomac*] were crowded with Kanackas mostly girls swimming off like schools of porpoises" (entry for July 4, 1842).

The editing of this volume began shortly after Heflin's death when his daughter Kitty asked Thomas Heffernan to examine her father's literary files with a view toward publication. Heffernan traveled a number of times to Annapolis to organize the Heflin papers, consulted with Jay Leyda about the proper treatment of them, and within a year arranged with the Newberry Library in Chicago for deposit of the papers. The Newberry at the time was the center of intense Melville scholarship because of its participation with Northwestern University Press in the publication of the definitive edition of Melville's work, and the Newberry Melville collection was one of the most notable anywhere. Heffernan spent the summer of 1987 at the Newberry cataloguing the Heflin archive, which in the end filled twenty boxes, and simultaneously began work on the editing of *Herman Melville's Whaling Years.*

Heffernan, guided by the revision suggestions in Heflin's papers, edited the whole manuscript in an effort to produce the organization of material that the author seemed to have in mind. This rewriting of the whole text was then re-examined to see if it passed one test, the preservation of Heflin's distinctive voice. As a result, Heffernan rewrote the first draft in its entirety, producing the present version.

In 1990 Heffernan invited Mary K. Bercaw Edwards to become co-editor of the book. She says of joining the project, "I brought to it my previous work as a Melville scholar and authorship of *Melville's Sources* (Northwestern University Press, 1987), as well as my knowledge of whaling and my work on the only 19th-century whaling vessel left in the world, the *Charles W. Mor-*

gan, at Mystic Seaport in Mystic, Connecticut. The *Morgan* was built only six months after the *Acushnet* and in the same town, so it is almost exactly like the one on which Melville himself sailed. Additionally, I sailed around the world on a 38-foot sailboat in the 1970s, and accumulated over the years 56,000 miles at sea under sail. During my circumnavigation, I visited many of the islands at which Melville stopped and cruised the same waters."

The editing work that Bercaw Edwards undertook was to search out and verify every source that Heflin looked at—every newspaper, logbook, book on whaling, no matter where, and every consular document, letter, census record, or logbook in the National Archives. In her search for documents she traveled to the New Bedford Free Public Library, the New Bedford Whaling Museum, the Nantucket Historical Association, the Peabody-Essex Museum, the Kendall Whaling Museum (now part of the Kendall Institute at the New Bedford Whaling Museum), the Providence Public Library, the Houghton and Baker Libraries at Harvard, the Boston Public Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the Watkinson Library at Trinity College (Hartford), the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and the regional offices of the National Archives in New York City and Waltham, Massachusetts. Her search also entailed weeks of work in the G. W. Blunt-White Library at Mystic Seaport and two extended trips to the National Archives in Washington, one of which included a visit on September 11, 2001, when researchers were evacuated from the building.

Additionally, Bercaw Edwards worked by fax and email with the State Library of New South Wales and other depositories in Australia, the Saint John Free Public Library in New Brunswick, Canada, and the Public Record Office in London, England.

Heflin's scrutiny of old newspapers was nothing short of awesome. Today one can check his citations of Melville-related news stories in the New Bedford *Morning Register* of February 15, 1842, or the Honolulu *Temperance Advocate, and Seamen's Friend* of June 27, 1843, but Heflin did not have citations to such needed sources available to him; he had to read the whole newspaper, issue after issue. His hunt for logbooks was arduous. All but three that he cites are now in public collections, but in his day he had to find out that the logbooks existed, then find out who owned them, and then persuade the owners to allow him to look at them.

But some things are lost forever. When Heflin studied the Whalemen's Shipping Paper of the *Acushnet,* now in the collection of the New Bedford Free Public Library, there were several consular certificates attached to it. Such certificates record men who deserted, died, or were discharged during the length of the voyage. They are important sources in understanding the fate

of Melville's shipmates. These certificates were detached from the Shipping Paper when the document was microfilmed and are now unlocatable.

Other important documents, in contrast, once were lost and now are found. Each vessel had two crew lists: one that remained in the port from which the vessel sailed and one that traveled with the vessel. The second is more valuable, because it and the certificates attached to it record the dates and names of men who deserted, were put ashore for sickness or insubordination, or died. The Official Crew List of the *Acushnet,* the one that remained in port, is in the possession of the New Bedford Whaling Museum. The Master's Crew List of the *Acushnet,* which traveled with the vessel, was held by the National Archives in Washington, D.C. There are significant differences between the two. For example, the Official Crew List records twenty-seven crew members for the *Acushnet,* including one shipped after the original ship's complement was completed. Written across the front of the Master's Crew List, in contrast, is the fact that two of those men deserted before the vessel even left New Bedford. Melville's crew, then, consisted of twenty-five men, not twenty-seven.

The Master's Crew List of the *Acushnet* was later pulled from the "A" box in order to be archivally preserved. When the New England crew lists were transferred from Washington to the National Archives and Records Administration-Northeast Region facility in Waltham, Massachusetts, in June 2001, the whereabouts of the Master's Crew List of the *Acushnet* was not recorded. All that existed was a handwritten note on a pink card: "Crew list of Acushnet—Dec. 30, 1840—See Drawer—7 flat files." *Not* "See Drawer 67," *not* "See Drawer in West Cabinet," simply "See Drawer." Bercaw Edwards consulted archivists in both Washington and Waltham, but none could shed light on the location of the crew list. At first each facility asserted that the document was in the hands of the other. One archivist expressed fear that the document had been stolen while the papers were in temporary storage in Philadelphia, as was true of other items that later appeared on eBay. After months of working with both facilities, Bercaw Edwards sadly accepted that the Master's Crew List was lost and would remain so. However, Michael Moore, at the Regional Archives, inspired by her questions and by the importance of the crew list, kept searching, but without luck.

Many months later, Moore was in the Regional Archives sorting through crew lists from the other most famous American whaleship, the *Charles W. Morgan,* now preserved at Mystic Seaport, the Museum of America and the Sea. As he leafed through, a paper he had passed tugged at Moore's attention. He went back. He had stumbled upon the *Acushnet*'s crew list, completely misfiled. Further search revealed the six all-important attachments scattered

through the other papers in the box. What is arguably the single most important American crew list to literary scholars had been found!

This book had already been copy-edited and was about to go into page proofs when Moore's find was announced.

As Bercaw Edwards discovered during her work at the National Archives, some documents in the Archives appear not to have been touched since Heflin looked at them in the 1930s and 1940s—at least not by human hands. But they have been invaded by bugs. The boxes are full of crumbling paper, fuzzy insect nests, and, most discouraging, bundles of sheets eaten by bookworms. The filing system, different from the system in Heflin's day, was not easy to crack. For instance, the most important paper in identifying Melville's third whaler is a letter from John B. Stetson, Vice-Commercial Agent at Lahaina, Maui, to William Hooper. There are thirty boxes of material from the consular post at Hawaii for the period in question. (At the National Archives orders are collected three or four times a day, production time is two hours, and there is a seven-box limit to any order.) Bercaw Edwards began working through all thirty Hawaiian boxes. The first twenty-nine turned up nothing, but in the last of the thirty, there was the letter—filed under "Miscellaneous."

Research can be frustrating, but to see the actual pieces of paper that Melville saw and that recorded bits of his life is reward enough to make up for it. "Is not the main-truck higher than the kelson is low?" (*Moby-Dick,* 9:48). To find a source that a great scholar like Heflin looked at fifty years ago—and that no one else has looked at since—is wonderful. Correcting wrongly transcribed information is the justification for exhausting source-hunting. Sometimes new information comes along—other vessels that gammed with the *Acushnet,* more information about the loss of the *Acushnet* on her last voyage, other bits that shed light on what it meant to be a whaleman in the 1840s. The thrill of discovery on these occasions resonates with what the great pioneering scholars like Wilson Heflin were experiencing day in and day out.

Thomas Farel Heffernan
Mary K. Bercaw Edwards
December 2003

Author's Introduction

> And, as for me, if, by any possibility, there be any as yet undiscovered prime thing in me; if I shall ever deserve any real repute in that small but high hushed world which I might not be unreasonably ambitious of; if hereafter I shall do anything that, upon the whole, a man might rather have done than to have left undone; if, at my death, my executors, or more properly my creditors, find any precious MSS. in my desk, then here I prospectively ascribe all the honor and the glory to whaling; for a whale-ship was my Yale College and my Harvard.
>
> —*Moby-Dick,* Chapter 24

The most stimulating and exciting objective experiences of Herman Melville's life came during the four years (1841–44) when he sailed the Pacific Ocean and wandered about its romantic isles. In three whaling vessels, two American and one Australian, he cruised for the great spermaceti whale of the South Seas, and aboard a man-of-war he performed the duties of an ordinary seaman in the navy of sail. As a deserter from one whaler he roamed the cannibal island of Nukahiva in the Marquesas; as a revolter from ship's duty on a second ship, he was left at Tahiti, a prisoner in a native calaboose. He had authorized liberty in both well-known and obscure South American ports, and footloose he explored Eimeo (Moorea) and Lahaina, Maui. He chased giant tortoises across the scoriated rocks of the Galápagos Islands. Although his duties as a clerk in a Honolulu dry-goods store were probably unexciting, his residence in the town was during a stirring period of local history. At first hand he observed the primitive culture of the Polynesians and the civilizing ventures of the missionaries, and he witnessed the early attempts at imperialism made in the Pacific by the navies of France and Great Britain.

In February 1947, when the present writer had the good fortune to find in the National Archives an abstract log of the 1841–46 voyage of the ship *Acushnet,* the documentary basis for saying anything reliable about Melville's first whaling voyage was scant indeed. At that time not even the name of his third whaler was known. It is not surprising that biographers and critics passed hurriedly over Melville's whaling career or relied, often erroneously, on statements in his books that appeared to be veritable recollections of his experience.

The purpose of this study is to present the available facts of Melville's

three whaling voyages, their island interludes, and relevant events in the fishery during the years he was a whaleman. The more solidly factual information we can discover about an unquestionably major writer the better, for such knowledge must serve as the foundation of criticism and the corrective for it. A small case in point is Melville's remark that he saw the famous whaleman Owen Chase at sea in 1841, a statement many times repeated about Melville since 1947, when most of his notes in a copy of Chase's *Narrative* were first printed, but investigation of the facts shows that Melville's memory was faulty and that such an event never happened.

In recent years much attention has been focused on Melville's reading and his artistic use of printed sources. Comparing the raw materials of his books with the transmuted and heightened finished product, literary geneticists have commented on the magical power of his creative faculty. Theirs has been an important critical service, illuminating our understanding of Melville's literary method. We must not forget, however, that Melville was a whaleman before he was a writer, and that his books could never have been quite the same had such not been the case. In the belief that complementary investigations of the experience behind the works are necessary, the writer has sought, whenever possible, to call attention to incidents of Melville's whaling years that found or may have found their way into his books and to point out seemingly autobiographical passages that are demonstrably without foundation in reality.

Finally, in an age when critics make phallic symbols of harpoons and invest one great white whale of fiction with significations so various and strange, there may be some value in plain talk about the whaling industry of more than a century ago.

Any attempt to recover the facts of the past is attended with a good many expected difficulties, and research into Melville's whaling career is no exception. Indeed it has seemed during the progress of the writer's investigation that more obstacles have been encountered than is ordinarily the case. No personal journals of the three voyages have been found to provide a plenitude of intimate detail. Captain Daniel McKenzie, in abstracting for the Navy the logs of three voyages made by Melville's first whaling captain, transcribed liberally from two of them but exercised great economy in copying from the important *Acushnet* log. The basic document for identifying Melville's third whaler is a letter written by the vice-commercial agent at Lahaina on May 18, 1843, but there are two almost identical versions of this letter, each of which assigns Melville to a different craft. Significant records of the Nantucket and Edgartown customhouses have been ruined by water and sold as waste paper. A chest, remembered twenty years ago to have contained valuable papers concerning Melville's voyage in the *Charles and Henry,* has been found, but the relevant papers are gone. Many of the records of the French navy at the

Marquesas Islands have survived, but what appears to be the most important document in connection with this study—a journal of events at Nukahiva kept by the French commandant—is no longer extant. Even the fairly extensive official papers of the *Lucy Ann* revolt of 1842 are lacking in certain important items of information and contain tantalizing contradictions. As a consequence, there are of necessity gaps in the narrative that follows and frequent occasions when statements must be tentatively rather than positively made. But that is a condition of virtually all research; the hope is that there are fewer gaps and unanswered questions than there were before this book was written.

Wilson Heflin
August 1952

Herman Melville's Whaling Years

CHAPTER 1

Merry Christmas

> WANTED—Immediately, 100 enterprising young men, Americans, to go on whaling voyage in first class ship; also wanted, carpenters, coopers and blacksmiths, to whom extra pay will be given; all clothing and other necessary articles furnished on the credit of the voyage; for farther particulars apply to SAMUEL LUCKEY & CO., 106 South st, up stairs. N.B. No connection with any other office.
>
> —advertisement in the New York *Sun* (December 1, 1840)

1. Trying the Sea, Among Other Things

After mid-year 1840, there was little promise in the land for Herman Melville. The twenty-year-old schoolteacher was unemployed, his family was destitute, and the country was still suffering, without much hope of respite, from the effects of the depression of 1837.[1]

On May 16, 1840, Maria Melville, Herman's widowed mother, addressed a distraught and importunate letter to her brother Peter Gansevoort, detailing her debts and asking for money. "I feel unusually depressed & troubled," she wrote, "and cannot throw it off. I feel as if my poverty & consequent dependance, have robbed me of the affection of my dear brothers, at a time when true love & Friendship is alone to be tested, *in adversity*."[2] Only five months earlier she had written Peter an equally distressed letter, but it had contained at least a slight leaven of optimism. Herman was doing well with his teaching, she observed, and would be able to allow her $150 to $200 a year.[3] Now, however, his school would close in a week for want of funds, not to open again until winter. He "thinks of going far-west, as nothing offers for him here," Maria wrote. "Oh that the Lord may strengthen me to bear all my troubles, & be pleased to sustain me under them."[4]

The lot of the Melvilles had not always been one of despair and penury. Herman's family could look back with regret, and perhaps some bitterness, to the bountiful, less troubled years before his father's business had failed in 1830 and his feverish efforts to re-establish his fortunes had hurried him to death in 1832. Even in the years of Maria's early widowhood there had been

intervals of moderate prosperity, but the family's plight in 1840 and during the two previous years was one of helpless reliance upon the charity of kinfolk.

In 1814 Maria Gansevoort, only daughter of General Peter Gansevoort, one of Albany's wealthiest citizens, had married Allan Melvill, who came from a respected Boston family. (After 1832 Herman's family added an *e* to the end of Melvill; other branches of the family did not.) Allan ran a wholesale dry-goods store in Albany, and the couple lived in the home of Maria's mother, enjoying the acquaintance of notables of the city and the amenities of high society.

Allan made a business trip to Europe in 1818. In the following year, convinced that New York City was "the greatest universal mart in the world,"[5] he moved there to become "an importer of french Goods and Commission Merchant."[6] The Melvills lived at Number 6 Pearl Street, where Herman, the second son and third child, was born on August 1, 1819. Maria's domestic establishment included a cook and nurse, and, as Allan wrote his brother-in-law in 1820, wanted only a waiter to make it complete.[7] Shortly before Herman became five years old, the family moved to suburban Bleecker Street, a fashionable community "almost uniting the advantages of town & country." The new two-story brick house was "handsomely furnished in the most modern style"[8]; a large adjoining lot provided a playground for the children, now five in number.[9] A governess was hired to begin the children's systematic training early. In 1828 Allan felt prosperous enough to move with his wife and seven children[10] into the neighborhood of the Astors and Van Rensselaers, leasing for four years, much to Maria's pleasure, a two-story marble house at 675 Broadway.

Young Herman, "an honest hearted double-rooted Knickerbocker of the true Albany stamp,"[11] as his father described him, enjoyed all the advantages of the son of a man of means. In time he attended the New-York Male High School, where in 1828 he "proved the best Speaker in the introductory Department," and twice a week he went to a stylish dancing school.[12] His summers were spent pleasantly in the homes of his grandparents and aunts.

Allan Melvill extended his business ventures injudiciously in 1827, borrowing a large sum of money from his brother-in-law Peter Gansevoort so that he could become a secret partner in a jobbing firm.[13] At first the yields of his investment were abundant, but in the wake of the dissolution of the firm in 1830 his fortunes abruptly collapsed. Overwhelmingly in debt to his father, to Peter Gansevoort, and to creditors who threatened lawsuits, Allan declared himself a bankrupt.

The family returned to Albany in early October 1830,[14] and Allan, reduced to the position of clerk in a furrier company, sought, with characteristic determination, to renew his vanished claims to a rich destiny. The burden of

his endeavors proved too great. Weakened in body by the cold, harrowing trip from New York, he fell prey to a depressing sickness. During his last two weeks, while an acute fever raged, he became delirious and was "at times fierce, even *maniacal.*"[15] Death came on January 28, 1832.

To his family, Allan Melvill's demise, in his forty-ninth year, brought abiding sorrow and straitened circumstances; the satisfaction of debts to his father and brother-in-law deprived his widow and eight children of the largest part of a liberal inheritance. Catherine Van Schaick Gansevoort, Maria's mother, had altered her will some six months before her death in December 1830, reducing her bequest to her daughter by the $10,250 owed to Peter Gansevoort. Again in 1832, for the same reason, an additional sum was taken from Maria's share in the then-unsettled estate. After an obligation of more than $22,000 to his father had, at Allan's insistence, been honorably discharged, nothing was left to be willed by Major Thomas Melvill, who died in September 1832. For a time in 1832 Maria was almost penniless, utterly dependent upon the generosity of her brother. Herman's education at the Albany Academy was terminated. He went to work in the New York State Bank, where he was employed until the spring of 1834.

When her mother's estate was divided, there was still a generous share for Maria, enough to set up her eldest son Gansevoort, not yet seventeen years old, as a wholesaler and retailer in the fur business. Soon his establishment was sufficiently successful for the family to regain some of the lost elegance of recent years. They moved into a fashionable neighborhood in 1834, and Herman, clerking part-time in Gansevoort's store during 1835, recommenced his educational training at the Albany Classical School. His family's prosperity, however, was not long sustained. The year 1837, characterized by a business depression, brought to the Melvilles another dismal turn of fortune, not unlike that of 1830. Gansevoort went into bankruptcy in April, and the family was once more reduced to poverty.

For a period Herman worked on the farm of Major Thomas Melvill, Jr., his uncle, who lived at what was later to be known as Broadhall in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. In 1837, following the failure of his brother's business, he earned his keep, at age eighteen, by teaching in the Sikes District School near Pittsfield. His employment lasted only one term. Returning to Albany in January 1838, Herman reorganized the Philo Logos Society, a forensic organization, and became its president. When his election was challenged by a letter in *The Albany Microscope,* he engaged, on the pages of that newspaper, in a controversy with the ex-president of the Society. His polemical letters, appearing from February to–March, 1838, were apparently the earliest printed products of his pen.

The Melvilles moved to Lansingburgh, ten miles north of Albany on the

east side of the Hudson, in May 1838. That fall Herman began preparation for a career presumably more to his liking than teaching. At the Lansingburgh Academy he studied surveying and engineering, and, after receiving a certificate of proficiency in these subjects, had hopes of getting a situation in the engineering department of one of the New York canals. If his ambition had been realized and his training had resulted in remunerative employment, Herman Melville might have remained to the end a landsman. But neither the influence of his Uncle Peter nor the recommendation of Ebenezer Maltbie, principal of the Lansingburgh Academy, availed to gain the position for which he applied.[16] Rebuffed in his first attempt to secure political employment and faced with an increasingly desperate situation at home, Herman set out on foot to seek some other means of work, but turned up nothing in either Lansingburgh or Albany.

Wellingborough Redburn, the narrator of Melville's fourth novel, gives the following reasons for shipping before the mast: "Sad disappointments in several plans which I had sketched for my future life; the necessity of doing something for myself, united to a naturally roving disposition, had now conspired within me, to send me to sea as a sailor" (*Redburn,* 1:3). With no violence to fact, these reasons may be set down as Herman's too.

Gansevoort Melville, after an illness that for some time had rendered him incapable of helping his family, had gone to New York City in May 1839. When Herman turned to his brother for assistance in finding a job, it was not unnatural that both of them should think of the sea, for a number of their kinsmen had already found employment in the watery world. Furthermore, Herman's recent training in surveying and engineering, rather than being utterly wasted, might prove advantageous if he embarked on a nautical career. A young man who understood logarithms and who could use the theodolite and the rods and chain might rise more rapidly than most landlubbers to officer rank at sea. For him it should not be difficult to master the principles of navigation or to learn how to take a lunar observation or work a sun sight.

Melville made his first voyage in 1839.[17] Barely two months after he had been thwarted in his plans to become an engineer, Melville secured, through the good offices of his brother Gansevoort, a billet aboard the packet ship *St. Lawrence* of New York, Captain Oliver P. Brown. Melville's first skipper, who seems to have been a naturalized Swede, forty-one years old,[18] was one of three owners of the craft and had already taken her on several voyages between New York and Liverpool.[19] The *St. Lawrence* was a square-rigged ship of 356 58/95 tons burthen; 119 feet, 6 inches long; 25 feet, 6 inches wide; and 12 feet, 9 inches deep.[20] It was manned by a crew of seventeen officers and men, two of them foreigners. When Melville joined the ship's company, a customs official carelessly set down his first name as "Norman" and recorded the fol-

lowing physical description: age, 19; height, 5 feet, 8 1/2 inches; complexion, light; hair, brown.[21]

Her cargo of 920 bales of cotton loaded, her passenger list ample, and the wind fair, the *St. Lawrence* stood out to sea on June 5, 1839. She required twenty-seven days to make the crossing to Liverpool, days in which Melville doubtless experienced the seasickness and awkwardness of a landlubber, received good-natured jests or derisive abuse from seasoned tars, and, in a crew so small, necessarily learned quickly his duties and the ship's ropes. The *St. Lawrence* drew alongside Prince's Dock on July 2, 1839.

During the six weeks that dockmen unloaded the cotton and put on board a cargo of metal bars, cordage, and notions, the impoverished and homesick Melville had opportunity to explore the city in which his gentleman-father had been an elegant sightseer years before. He passed his twentieth birthday in England. On August 13 the *St. Lawrence* got underway for home; forty-eight days later she docked at New York.

Until the facts of the 1839 voyage of the *St. Lawrence* began to be made known, biographers uncritically attributed to Herman Melville the seagoing experiences of his seventeen-year-old protagonist in *Redburn.* There is undoubtedly some warrant in supposing that Melville's fourth novel is based in part upon the events of his first voyage—for example, a seaman named Jackson served in the crews of both the actual *St. Lawrence* and the fictional *Highlander.*[22] The contrasts of fact and fiction, however, suffice to indicate the error of assuming that *Redburn* is unembellished autobiography. Outward-bound the imaginary *Highlander* lost a mariner who jumped overboard, and during her return voyage one man died of animal combustion and another fell to his death from the topsail-yard. Records of the real *St. Lawrence* do not substantiate such dramatic happenings; her crew list and appended certificates show that no member of the ship's company died during either Atlantic crossing. Homeward-bound the *Highlander* of *Redburn* carried "about five hundred immigrants," twenty-five of whom died when a malignant fever raged in the steerage. According to the official manifest of the *St. Lawrence,* thirty-two passengers, twenty-three males and nine females, traveled in her from Liverpool to New York.[23] All of them survived the westward voyage.

That Melville, having now earned his sea legs, returned to school teaching might suggest that his first experience with salt water was disillusioning. His decision, however, may have been dictated more by exigency than preference. Four days after the *St. Lawrence* had stood into the port of New York, Peter Gansevoort wrote Judge Lemuel Shaw, "Mrs Melville has become entirely impoverished. Mortgages are foreclosing upon her real estate & as I have just heard, her furniture is now advertised for sale."[24] Instead of having an opportunity to tell leisurely yarns of the briny deep, Herman faced

the urgent necessity of securing immediate employment. He found it in a school at Greenbush, New York. At first Maria Melville was cheered at the prospect of receiving financial aid from her son; then Herman's school closed prematurely. Chafing at the multiple frustrations of the depression-ridden East and presumably not yet ready to go again to sea, he determined to try his luck on the frontier.

2. Uncle Thomas and Cousin Thomas

For Herman Melville, "far-west" in 1840 meant Galena, Illinois, on the Mississippi River, a growing town whose economic promise lay in its lead mines. There Major Thomas Melvill, Jr., Herman's beloved uncle, had moved from Pittsfield in 1837, yielding in the autumn of his years to the inducements of the frontier. Major Melvill had taken "a responsible position in a mercantile house"[25] at Galena and had immediately assumed an enterprising role in town affairs. He was an officer of the Colonization Society and secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, and was actively involved in the establishment of a school system in the town.

Melville set out for Illinois early in June 1840 with his good friend, Eli James Murdock Fly, who had been an apprentice in his uncle Peter Gansevoort's law office. Hints in *The Confidence-Man* and *Moby-Dick* suggest that he followed the canals and the Great Lakes and took a riverboat up the Mississippi. What he found in Galena was enough to deflate high hopes. Major Melvill's economic situation was worse than it had been in Massachusetts, and the house that he and his family lived in was modest indeed compared to the spacious and elegant Broadhall that he had left behind in Pittsfield. For all his energetic civic-mindedness, Melville's uncle Thomas still adhered to political conservatism in a community that was dominantly Democratic; his chances of election to office or of gaining an appointment for his nephew were consequently slight. Melville found the once courtly gentleman wearing homemade clothes.

The frontier, as "those stage managers, the Fates," (*Moby-Dick,* 1:7) willed it, offered no gainful employment to Melville. But the visit to Galena may well have suggested a consequential course of action, that of embarking on a whaling voyage. As Herman talked with his uncle, the conversation may have turned to Thomas Wilson Melvill, the favorite son of the major, who for fourteen years had followed the sea, first as a midshipman in the United States Navy and then as a whaleman. In 1834 Major Melvill had learned "the most painfully afflicting intelligence, that [his] son Thomas has been obliged to resign"[26] his midshipman's warrant. Since that date the major had received no letters from his son, but he must have known, probably from Judge Lemuel

Shaw who was kept informed about Thomas, that the young man, in what appears to have been a deliberate shunning of the land, had sailed on three successive whaling voyages. Thomas Melvill's first experience in blubber-hunting had been in a ship out of Fairhaven, Massachusetts, and on his present voyage he was serving on the *Amazon,* Captain Robert G. Smith, another Fairhaven ship. It may be more than a coincidence that it was in that port that Herman Melville was to seek a billet when he determined to go whaling.

Whether Herman was ever on intimate terms with his high-spirited kinsman—Thomas was thirteen years his senior—is not known. At least he had followed at a distance, through the exchange of letters between his father and Midshipman Melvill, the progress of Thomas's early nautical career. In September 1826, when Herman was seven years old, Thomas Melvill, a recently appointed midshipman in the United States Navy, sailed for the Pacific Ocean in the frigate *Brandywine.*[27] Shortly before the young officer's departure from Boston, Allan Melvill wrote him a pious, sententious letter of advice.

Herman's father reported that Midshipman Melvill wrote him from Rio de Janeiro on November 3, 1826, and that "he was in fine health & spirits, much pleased with the Commodore officers & Crew & highly enamoured with a Sailors life."[28] After the arrival of the *Brandywine* at Callao, Peru, Thomas was transferred to the topsail-schooner *Dolphin.* He served on it until June 20, 1829, when he joined the sloop-of-war *Vincennes,* soon to cruise among the Pacific islands and return to the United States. A few days before the sloop hoisted anchor, Midshipman Melvill again wrote Herman's father. He looked forward to the opportunity of visiting home and was "in expectation of passing his examination without going to sea again."[29]

On her homeward voyage the *Vincennes* carried Thomas Melvill in 1829 to three romantic Pacific islands—Nukahiva, Tahiti, and Oahu—that Herman would visit, in that order, thirteen and fourteen years later.[30] At the Marquesas Islands, where Captain William Bolton Finch found the native women "decidedly beautiful,"[31] the crew spent a day in Typee Valley; during a stop of almost a month in the Society Islands, a visit was paid to Pomaré, the native queen who appears in *Omoo.* The *Vincennes* and Midshipman Melvill arrived at New York on June 8, 1830.

Although he received strong recommendations for promotion from senior naval officers, for reasons now obscure Thomas Melvill failed to take the required examination for elevation to the rank of passed midshipman. He was, therefore, ordered again to sea and sailed once more in the *Vincennes,* this time for the West Indies.

While the sloop was at Pensacola Bay in September 1831, the midshipman's high temper flared up, and he committed an act of violence for which

he was suspended from duty for seven months and later was court-martialed. One day while climbing the fore ladder of the craft, he passed near Thomas Spence, an ordinary seaman who was confined in double irons for drunkenness and was guarded by a sentry. Spence swore at Midshipman Melvill, clenched his fists, and accused him of going frequently into the spirits room and robbing it. Thomas's reaction was immediate; he jumped with both feet on the chest of the seaman. On April 30, 1832, he was tried by court-martial aboard the *Vincennes* for oppression and disobedience of orders and was found guilty. The court ruled that "the strong provocation given, and the general good character of Midn. Melvill, plead so much in extenuation of his offence and the Court having taken into consideration the long suspension from duty of Midn. Melvill, do adjudge him no further punishment."[32]

During the next two years Thomas Melvill attended the Norfolk Navy School, had two periods of leave, and served in the sloop-of-war *St. Louis* and the schooner *Grampus.* Twice he had not appeared at scheduled examinations for promotion, and twice his explanations to the secretary of the Navy had been satisfactory. In May 1834, however, when he failed the third time to take his required examination, he was forced to resign his warrant as a midshipman. His connections with the Navy were officially severed on June 3, 1834.

Because he never returned home and abruptly broke off communications with his father, there is room to suppose that Thomas Melvill felt that he had disgraced himself. By June 1835 he had changed his seagoing occupation to that of whaleman, sailing during that month in the ship *Columbus* of Fairhaven, Captain Benjamin Ellis.[33] Shortly after the return of the *Columbus* in February 1837, he made a second voyage in the *Hydaspe* of New Bedford, Captain Benjamin Price, which lasted from June 1837 to February 1839.[34] He departed from Fairhaven in the *Amazon,* Robert. G. Smith, master, on June 10, 1839, as ship-keeper at the 1/135th lay, or share in the voyage's profits (less advantageous than that which his cousin would be given after eighteen months of whaling), and was in the fourteenth month of a blubber-hunt at about the time that Herman was visiting in Galena.[35]

At the time that Herman was in Galena neither he nor his uncle Thomas's family could foresee what the next four years would bring for young Thomas —and that was a blessing for his father and perhaps a good thing for Herman's morale. So wasted in body by scurvy that he could not perform his duties as ship-keeper of the *Amazon,* Thomas Wilson Melvill was carried ashore at Fowler's Bay in Australia on May 26, 1840, to live in a rude hut built for him by his shipmates.[36] He was still a sick man in September when the *Amazon* moved on to Kingston, where he and several similarly afflicted mariners were given care and treatment in a boarding house.

Wearied and penitent upon his arrival in Fairhaven in May 1841, Thomas

wrote his father that he had altered his ways, had stopped drinking, and hoped to visit his family should he live to return from his next voyage.[37] But for this cousin there was no return. He sailed in July 1841 as ship-keeper of the whaler *Oregon* of Fairhaven, Captain Obed Sherman.[38] In September 1844 he died at sea. Instead of issuing the customary order to bury the dead, Captain Sherman performed for his ship-keeper an ironic kindness. The body of Thomas Wilson Melvill, who so insistently had shunned the land, was kept aboard the *Oregon* until she reached Lahaina. There he was buried in the solid ground.[39]

3. The Family Talks about the Sea

Frustrated once more by the land, now twenty-one years of age and still unemployed, Herman Melville left the frontier. Beyond whatever stimulus the news of Thomas Melvill's whaling voyages may have given to the decision that sent his cousin again to employment afloat, there was a generous family precedent of nautical careers and interest in the sea.[40] Throughout his childhood, merchant ships from abroad had brought cargoes of notions and dry-goods to the business house of his importer-father. Allan Melvill prided himself upon having made seven trips to Europe, beginning at age eighteen, and upon having traversed 48,460 miles by water during 643 days at sea. Melville may be drawing on recollections of his father when he has the father of his fictitious Wellingborough Redburn "of winter evenings in New York" regale his older sons with stories of "monstruous waves at sea, mountain high; of the masts bending like twigs; and all about Havre, and Liverpool, and about going up into the ball of St. Paul's in London" (*Redburn,* 1:5).

Herman had spent the summers of 1827, 1829, and 1831 in the home of his grandfather Thomas Melvill, famous for his participation in the Boston Tea Party. Though never a seafaring man himself, the old major had cleared many a merchantman outward-bound on a long voyage and had authorized the entry of many a heavy-laden returning craft. For forty years after his initial appointment by President Washington, he had, as naval officer in the customhouse at Boston, been intimately concerned with the busy shipping of that port. Grandfather Melvill had participated in the making of Nantucket history too, commanding the Revolutionary War detachment sent to that island to watch the movements of British men-of-war.

John D'Wolf II, husband of Herman's aunt Mary, was a master mariner out of Bristol, Rhode Island, who had sailed to such remote and fabulous places as the sea of Okhotsk, Kodiak, Oonalaska, and Archangel and believed himself to have been the first American to pass through Siberia by dog sled. In 1807 while sailing from Kamchatka to Okhotsk in the 25-ton brig *Russisloff* he ran into a large whale. "We somehow slid up his back so as to raise

our little vessel two or three feet and throw her over on her side four or five streaks," Captain D'Wolf recalled in later years. "It was like striking a rock, and brought us to a complete standstill. The monster soon showed himself, gave a spout, 'kicked' his flukes and went down. He did not appear to be hurt, nor were we hurt, but most confoundedly frightened."[41]

Captain D'Wolf continued successfully in the Russian-American trade until 1827. Herman at the age of nine passed the summer at his Aunt Mary's in Bristol; the captain was away at the time, but later in the year the impressive mariner with "white hair and fine florid face" visited the Melvill family in New York and celebrated New Year's eve with them.[42]

4. Gansevoorts at Sea

Four of Herman's Gansevoort cousins, three of them sons of Leonard Herman Gansevoort, had careers afloat. At first hand—and at second hand—Herman had heard during his youth and early manhood stimulating tales of the nautical experiences of his cousins, the brothers Guert, Peter, and Leonard Gansevoort and Hunn Gansevoort.

Guert Gansevoort, who in physical appearance much resembled Herman, was appointed a midshipman and sailed for the Mediterranean in the frigate *Constitution* when Herman was four years old.[43] After his return aboard the *North Carolina* in 1827, the young officer was granted an extended leave of absence to attend school, and during the summer of 1828 he was stationed at the New York Navy Yard, near Herman's home. Guert's second tour of duty at sea was in the sloop-of-war *St. Louis,* which sailed from Norfolk in February 1829, rounded Cape Horn, and joined the Pacific Squadron at Callao.[44] In 1831 he wrote his uncle Peter that he had "lately been promoted to situation of acting Sailing Master of this Ship, and am perhaps the youngest person that ever held the appointment."[45] The *St. Louis* cruised for nearly three years up and down the coasts of Peru and Ecuador, going as far north as Mazatlan, Mexico, and bringing Guert home again in December 1831.

There were ample periods of leave during the next four years that Guert spent ashore, and many opportunities to renew his friendship with the Melvilles, who now lived in Albany. As acting master of the sloop-of-war *Boston,* Guert sailed for the West Indies in 1836. A year later, having been promoted to the rank of lieutenant, he was living in Waterford, New York, and during the interval before his next duty afloat he was a frequent caller at Herman's home. In the winter of 1840 Guert was overseas at Port Mahon, the Mediterranean Squadron station, serving as officer-of-the-deck aboard the USS *Ohio,* Commodore Isaac Hull's flagship.

Lieutenant Guert Gansevoort's tour of duty aboard the *Ohio* was un-

troubled. In the winter of 1842, however, a critical turn came in his career. As first lieutenant of the brig *Somers,* Commander Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, he discovered evidences of mutiny and played a leading role in the series of events that culminated in the hanging at sea of Acting Midshipman Philip Spencer, son of the secretary of war; Samuel Cromwell, boatswain's mate; and Elisha Small, seaman.[46] Guert returned in the *Somers* an ill man, almost physically ruined from the hardship and strain of his extraordinary duties. The public excitement over the *Somers* case mixed execration and faint praise. The strain and apprehension in testifying at the naval court of inquiry and the general court-martial of Commander Mackenzie—a trial on which Guert's fate as well as the commander's seemed to hang—and then the attempts of Samuel Cromwell's widow to have Commander Mackenzie and Guert arraigned for murder in civilian courts cast an enduring gloom over Guert's life. The situation onboard the *Somers* and its effect on his cousin registered permanently on Melville and found expression in his last work, *Billy Budd.*

Peter L. Gansevoort, Guert's older brother, followed him to sea, wearing not the anchor button of a young naval officer but the coarse red shirt of a merchant seaman. In November and December 1826, when Herman was seven years old, Peter stayed with the Melvills in New York City before his departure for the Pacific Ocean, Guayaquil, Canton, and Manila in the ship *Sabina,* Captain Hubbell.[47] Allan Melvill busily concerned himself with Peter's preparations for the voyage, visiting the ship, observing the crew, and seeing that his nephew was properly outfitted for duty before the mast.

After his return home in 1828, Peter was appointed a midshipman and ordered to the Naval School at New York to receive basic training and indoctrination.[48] In May 1830 he made his first voyage in a Navy craft, sailing in the ship *Virginia* to Rio de Janeiro. Later he was transferred to the sloop-of-war *Vandalia,* member of the Brazil Squadron, and served in her until December 31, 1831, when he was detached at Norfolk. Peter's brief career as a naval officer came to a tragic end. During a leave of absence he took passage on the schooner *Increase* of Norfolk; the vessel was lost at sea, and on March 7, 1832, Peter's body drifted ashore at Rockaway, New York. His remains were sent to the Norfolk Navy Yard "to be buried with all the respect and honors due to his rank and station."[49]

The second kinsman of Herman Melville to make a whaling voyage was Leonard Gansevoort, who had been his schoolmate at the Albany Academy from 1830 to 1832. Barely a month after Thomas Wilson Melvill had departed on his first whale hunt, Leonard signed on in July 1835 as a green hand aboard the ship *Hercules,* Captain Albert C. Goodwin, of New Bedford.[50] The *Hercules* cruised the whaling grounds of the south Atlantic Ocean and the Indian Ocean, returning home in March 1837. This first cousin, three years older than

Herman, made a second voyage later in that year; as an ordinary seaman in the packet ship *England* of New York, he sailed for Liverpool in November 1837 and returned in January 1838. On the eve of Herman's departure from Lansingburgh for New York and his Liverpool trip in the *St. Lawrence,* Leonard was on hand to render assistance to his cousin and give advice.

Closer in age to Herman than any other seagoing relative was his cousin Hunn Gansevoort, also a schoolmate at the Albany Academy. On May 8, 1832, when he was fourteen years old, Hunn had been appointed a midshipman in the Navy.[51] The young "reefer" (midshipman) sailed aboard the sloop-of-war *Vincennes* in April 1833 for the Pacific Squadron station. At Callao he was transferred to the topsail-schooner *Dolphin* on April 16, 1834, and served in her until the following year, when he departed for the United States in the *Vincennes.* On these two ships he was following in the footsteps of Thomas Melvill. He was detached from the sloop in June 1836 and given three months leave, which he spent in Albany and in Moscow, New York, south of Rochester.

If Hunn Gansevoort saw Herman during the eight months before he went again to sea, he could have filled his kinsman's ears with romantic tales of the Navy, the South Pacific, and whaling. Most of the tales would have come from the exciting homeward voyage of the *Vincennes.*[52]

Hoisting anchor at Callao on July 21, 1835, the *Vincennes* had sailed to the west, stopping nineteen days later at Nukahiva in the Marquesas Islands, the port where Herman Melville would jump ship in 1842. Commander John A. Aulick with a party in the launch and first cutter of the *Vincennes* paid a visit to Hapaa Valley on August 24. Two days later four lieutenants of the craft took sixty men and twelve marines ashore in an unsuccessful attempt to capture Paregla, a native chief who had murdered an American.

The *Vincennes* sailed from Nukahiva on August 27, 1835, and stopped at Tahiti, where Queen Pomaré visited the sloop. On both Tahiti and the neighboring island of Eimeo (Moorea), the crew of the *Vincennes* saw what Melville was to see in 1842 and what he was to turn into the material for his second novel, *Omoo.*

In the course of this cruise the *Vincennes* came to the aid of three New England whaleships, arresting two mutinous seamen on one, responding to an attack by natives on another, and taking onboard an insubordinate sailor from a third. The *Vincennes*'s efforts to rescue the survivors of the New Bedford ship *Mentor* from shipwreck and from torture and death at the hands of vicious natives gave Hunn Gansevoort more than the average seaman's share of thrilling adventures—and gave him plenty to talk about at home.[53]

After he returned home in the *Vincennes* and took a deserved leave of

absence, he joined the sloop *Fairfield* in February 1837 for duty with the Brazil Squadron. Later he attended the Naval School at Norfolk. Perhaps the latest news that Herman had of this cousin was that he had become a member of the famous South Seas Exploring Expedition under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, sailing in the sloop *Peacock* in July 1838. After serving for eleven months on the *Peacock,* the *Flying Fish,* and the *Relief,* he was detached from the Exploring Expedition and ordered to the Pacific Squadron as sailing master of the sloop *Falmouth* in June 1839.[54] During his tour of duty at Callao Bay, he contracted a venereal disease but was apparently cured soon after his transfer to the frigate *Constitution* in February 1840. Some months later either he became again infected or the disease reappeared, this time with effects more virulent and obstinate. Ultimately he became incapable of performing his duties and was granted permission to live ashore. In November 1840 when his cousin Herman was en route east from the frontier, Hunn Gansevoort was given a sick ticket for return to the United States. Commodore Alexander Claxton wrote the secretary of the Navy a letter of compassion, stating that Passed Midshipman Gansevoort's "mind has been long depressed by protracted suffering, and, seeing no speedy hope of cure in this climate, I have felt myself called upon to detach him from the Squadron. He returns by the way of Panama. . . . I entertain the hope that his journey home may be speedy, and that the nature of our climate may soon restore him to that health, which has been so greatly impaired by his repeated imprudences."[55]

After recovering his health, Hunn Gansevoort returned to active duty in October 1841 and at the early age of twenty-four was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. In March 1845 he sailed from Norfolk aboard the schooner *Grampus.* That craft encountered violent gales, and, in the wake of a severe storm, the only suggestive evidences of Hunn's fate and that of his Navy shipmates were several broken spars found aimlessly floating upon a silent sea.

5. Loomings and Christmas Day

With this impressive and long-sustained precedent in the family of careers at sea, it was only natural that Herman Melville, thwarted again and again by the land, should seek work and escape at sea. The family itch "to sail forbidden seas, and land on barbarous coasts" (*Moby-Dick,* 1:7) continued strong enough to send two other kinsmen on to seafaring careers in Herman's wake. By November 1841 Stanwix Gansevoort, youngest brother of Guert and Leonard, would be an acting midshipman in the Navy.[56] Shortly after the American publication of *Typee* Herman's youngest brother Thomas would go a-whaling

at age sixteen in the bark *Theophilus Chase* of Westport, Massachusetts.[57] In thirteen years Thomas would rise in the merchant marine to the command of a Boston clipper ship.[58]

Perhaps it was well for the future of American letters that Melville in 1840 had seafaring models without having any prescience of the gloomy ends that awaited most of them. Maybe those melancholy realizations would have made a difference to Melville, but probably they would not have. In any event, family precedent, the frustrations of the land, the need of a job, the possible advantage that his previous nautical experience and engineering training might bring, and a naturally roving disposition may credibly be set down as reasons urging Melville to stuff a shirt or two into his old carpetbag and start for Cape Horn and the Pacific. There was perhaps an additional inducement. Of all the commercial enterprises of the nation, the whaling industry had best weathered the depression of 1837. With sperm oil bringing $1.00 to $1.05 per gallon in 1839 and 1840, the whaling business was prospering better than at any time since 1816.[59]

In late November 1840 Melville, having returned from Galena "in good health & tolerable spirits,"[60] visited his brother Gansevoort in New York City. He "had his hair sheared & whiskers shaved" and began to look "more like a Christian than usual."[61] A month later he was in the port of Fairhaven observing the active goings-on aboard seven whalers at the wharves on his side and on the New Bedford side of the Acushnet River. On a cold Christmas day while Jeremiah Taber, a cooper of the town, witnessed his signature, Melville shipped as a green hand for a voyage to the Pacific Ocean in the whaler *Acushnet,* Captain Valentine Pease, Jr.[62]

CHAPTER 2

The Acushnet *and Her Owners*

> To a seaman, a ship is no piece of mechanism merely; but a creature of thoughts and fancies, instinct with life. Standing at her vibrating helm, you feel her beating pulse. I have loved ships, as I have loved men.
>
> *Mardi,* Chapter 37

The *Acushnet,* in which Herman Melville first learned whaling, was a new ship. She was carvel built, with two decks, three masts, and a square stern with minimum tuck. Her displacement was 358 and 71/95 tons. She had a billet head but no gallery, and was in length 104 feet, 8 1/4 inches; in breadth 27 feet, 10 inches; and in depth 13 feet, 11 inches.[1]

Her mainmast stood 113 feet, 9 inches above the spar deck. The foremast was some five feet shorter; and the mizzenmast was approximately 90 feet in height. Her foreyard and mainyard were each 50 feet in length, and her crossjack 40 feet. The fore-topyard and main-topyard each measured 40 feet, and the mizzen-topyard 28 feet. Her fore-topgallant yard, main-topgallant yard, and mizzen-topgallant yard measured respectively 27, 29, and 18 feet. The length of her spanker boom was 40 feet, of her bowsprit 21 feet, of her jib-boom 24 feet, and of her flying jib-boom 16 feet. The topgallant crosstrees, where lookouts would keep watch for whales, stood some 90 feet above the upper deck.[2] Built in 1840 at the shipyard of Gideon Barstow and Son,[3] at the bend of Main and Water Streets in Mattapoisett, the *Acushnet* went down one of the two launching ways of the yard before November 30, 1840, when her Certificate of Admeasurement was signed.[4] The new ship was brought from Mattapoisett down Buzzards Bay, past West Island and up the Acushnet River, and tied to a dock on Friday, December 4, 1840, in the port of Fairhaven, Massachusetts, directly across the Acushnet River from New Bedford.[5]

Like another Fairhaven craft, the barque *Bruce,* which had recently sailed on a whaling voyage,[6] the *Acushnet* flew from one of her trucks the house pennant of Bradford, Fuller, and Company, her agents. She had eighteen owners:[7]

Melvin O. Bradford, Fairhaven, lumber merchant[8]
Marlboro Bradford, Fairhaven, trader; the Bradfords claimed descent from Governor William Bradford of the Plymouth Colony[9]

Philemon Fuller, Fairhaven, lumber merchant, brother-in-law of the Bradfords[10]
Zaccheus M. Allen, Fairhaven, former master carpenter; for a number of years he served as surveyor of the port of New Bedford and as harbor pilot[11]
Rodolphus R. Dexter, Fairhaven
Duncan McB. Thaxter, Fairhaven
George Mendall, Fairhaven
Ellis Mendall, Jr., Fairhaven, farmer[12]
Lemuel S. Akin, Fairhaven, farmer
Killey Eldredge, Fairhaven, a prosperous cooper[13]
Gideon Barstow, Rochester, shipbuilder
Wilson Barstow, Rochester, shipbuilder[14]
Jonathan R. Ward, New Bedford, baker[15]
Joseph Davis, Dartmouth, farmer
Joseph Gifford, Dartmouth, farmer[16]
Joseph Chase, Dartmouth
Peter D. Slade, Dartmouth, farmer
Valentine Pease, Jr., Edgartown

That Melvin O. Bradford, owner-agent of the ship, was a Quaker is attested by the several instances on which, in signing customhouse documents, he struck through the word "swear" and substituted "affirm" or scratched through the expression "So help me God." But it is not ascertainable whether he resembled in any other respect that pious, hard-hearted, "incorrigible old hunks" (16:74), Bildad, who signed on Ishmael for a whaling voyage in the *Pequod* of *Moby-Dick*.

Unlike the owners of the *Pequod*—"a crowd of old annuitants; widows, fatherless children, and chancery wards; each owning about the value of a timber head, or a foot of plank, or a nail or two in the ship" (16:73)—the men who held shares in the *Acushnet* were relatively prosperous and a number of them had invested in other whalers.[17]

The occupations of the owners of the craft—shipbuilders, lumber merchants, farmers, baker, cooper, and trader—suggest that for contributions to her construction and fitting-out they received shares in the *Acushnet*. Gideon and William Barstow, her builders, doubtless stood for a good part of her construction cost and held major ownership shares in her. It is very likely that timber required for spars, masts, whaleboats, and carpentry came at least in part from Melvin O. Bradford and Philemon Fuller and perhaps some of the farmer owners. Hard tack for the voyage was probably provided by baker Jonathan Ward and casks for carrying provisions and for stowing of sperm oil by cooper Killey Eldredge. Philemon Fuller may have had a hand in supplying some of the many articles required for a whaling voyage. Melville's statement

in reference to the *Dolly* of *Typee* that "owners . . . officiate as caterers for the voyage" (4:21) is probably an authentic reminiscence of the fitting-out of the *Acushnet*.

Four of the six surviving sketches of the ship[18] represent her as being plump of hull and long (or "square," as Richard Henry Dana, Jr. would say)[19] of spar. She carried studding sails, probably for use only in making passages. False gunports were painted "frigate fashion" on her hull (giving her the appearance of a formidable man-of-war) in order to frighten away islanders in the South Seas who might try to attack her. One sketch in which her hull lies deep in the water gives the impression that she resembled a Western Ocean packet or a frigate.

To her owners and crew the *Acushnet* would bring, after fifty-two months of chasing whales, a cargo valued at $46,500,[20] no part of which Herman Melville would be entitled to collect, and she would trans-ship additional oil during the voyage. Her life span would be slightly more than ten years and eight months and her voyages three in number. Her seagoing days would come to an abrupt end on August 16, 1851, when she would be totally wrecked on St. Lawrence Island.[21]

CHAPTER 3

Captain Valentine Pease, Jr.

I should say he was an upright man, but at times quite profane.
—Alexander Pease, concerning his uncle

Few New England families were more intimate with the occupation of whaling than that of Captain Valentine Pease, Jr., master of the *Acushnet.* Valentine Pease the elder, his father, and Malatiah Pease, his grandfather, were both master mariners before him.[1] Charles Fordham Pease, a younger brother, was lost at sea in 1823 in the whaler *Lady Adams,* last spoken off the coast of Japan.[2] Two living brothers, Henry Pease II, master of the ship *Catawba* of Nantucket,[3] and Tristram Daggett Pease, master of the barque *Columbus* of New Bedford,[4] were already at sea on whaling voyages at the time the *Acushnet* was being fitted-out at Fairhaven for her maiden cruise. And two of his three sisters were married to whaling captains from Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard.[5]

Captain Valentine Pease the elder, still living in 1840, belonged to the sixth generation of Peases of Martha's Vineyard.[6] A pioneer whaling master out of Nantucket, he had taken the ship *Alliance* to the "Woolwich Bay Ground"[7] (Walvis Bay, off the coast of Namibia, Africa) either in 1795 or in 1796 and had returned on December 15, 1796, from a successful voyage.[8] Lowering for right whales, the men of the *Alliance* had stowed down 1,100 barrels of black oil, good blubber-hunting in those days.

Less than a year after Captain Pease's return, the fifth child and second son was born to him and his wife Love Daggett Pease on Nantucket on November 22, 1797.[9] He was given the same name, Valentine Pease, Jr., as the first-born son who had died in infancy.

Some time in the early 1800s, probably after the birth of his son Henry at Nantucket in 1802,[10] Captain Valentine Pease, Sr., returned with his family to Martha's Vineyard and took a house near Caleb's Pond on Chappaquiddick.[11] A small island dotted with bays and ponds of strange shapes, Chappaquiddick is farthest east of the Vineyard group, divided from the main island by a narrow inlet of water that is sometimes a continuous run and at others a closed strait.

It was hardly necessary for a whaling master on Chappaquiddick to dedi-

cate a son to the occupation of chasing leviathans. The sound and smell of the sea was always present. Upon an eminence on the island, pilots kept a lookout for returning whalers,[12] and there the children of Valentine Pease, Sr., could have heard strange and exciting tales of the adventure, dangers, and rewards of whaling. From the Pease house near Caleb's Pond one could see along the busy waterfront of Edgartown the wharves where vessels unloaded casks of oil or made ready for whaling voyages. There were Indians on Chappaquiddick, too,[13] and these descendants of the original whalemen of the new world, some of whom still went to sea, must have been objects of curiosity or awe to the white children of the island.

Chappaquiddick was a veritable breeding place of whalemen. Near the home of Captain Valentine Pease, Sr., were the dwellings of Captain Ephraim Ripley and Captain Josiah Pease, and in these three homes thirty children were born or reared over the same period of time. Of the nineteen sons, one died young, and seventeen grew up to become masters of whaling vessels; seven of eleven daughters married whaling captains.[14] During the heyday of whaling, forty-five master mariners, twelve of them Peases, came from the island.

It is not known when Valentine Pease, Jr., first went to sea as a green hand to begin the apprenticeship in whaling that in time led to his becoming a harpooner in a broad shad-bellied waistcoat; from that becoming a boat header, chief mate, captain, and finally a ship-owner. Henry Pease II, four years his junior, was a whaling master at the age of nineteen.[15] Tristram Daggett Pease, the youngest brother, held a whaling command at the age of twenty-seven,[16] and Charles Fordham Pease was lost at sea in a whaler when he was twenty-two years old.[17] If the younger brothers of Valentine Pease, Jr., went early to sea in whalers, it is likely that he had done so, too. By 1831 he had become an experienced and successful whaleman. In that year he was one of five owners as well as master of the ship *Houqua,* 339 tons burthen, of New Bedford.[18]

Even in the unusual annals of whaling, the 1831–35 voyage of the *Houqua* is extraordinary, for of the original crew of twenty-five only three men returned with Captain Pease to home port.[19] The first mate, Edward C. Starbuck, was discharged at Tahiti under conditions curious and not fully explained. Reuben Hall, a foremast hand, fell overboard during the voyage, and Second Mate Abraham B. Gray, Third Mate George W. Cotney, and four of the crew were drowned in an unsuccessful attempt to save him. Rufus Carter and Alexander Boyd, foremast hands, "were lost overboard from a Boat which was Stove by a whale." One mariner was discharged at Oahu, and eleven members of the original crew deserted.[20]

Like the *Acushnet,* the *Houqua* put out to sea in winter, sailing on December 13, 1831,[21] and the itinerary of her voyage resembles in some respects

that of Melville's first whaler on her maiden cruise. Both ships rounded Cape Horn, touched at a port on the western coast of South America, and recruited at Maui in the Sandwich Islands and Tahiti in the Society Islands. The whaling grounds worked and the precise tracks of the two ships, however, differ considerably.[22]

After doubling the Horn, the *Houqua* lay off and on the harbor of Valparaiso in late March 1832, then made almost directly for the island of Maui, cruising briefly in passage on the Off-Shore Ground. Captain Pease hunted whales for five months in waters near the Sandwich Islands and later cruised off the coasts of Lower California and Mexico. Thence he shaped his course, by way of the Galápagos and Marquesas Islands, for Tahiti. Most of the remaining part of the voyage was spent in three extended cruises, north and south between the Society and Sandwich Islands and within a span east and west between the 150th and 170th meridians of west longitude.[23]

It was while the *Houqua* was recruiting at Tahiti in May and June of 1833 that a group of her whalemen deserted and Edward C. Starbuck, the first mate, was discharged. Two groups of records relating to these happenings provide unique objective evidence of Captain Pease's character as a whaling master and partially substantiate Melville's portrait in *Typee* of Captain Vangs, who presumably represents the master of the *Acushnet*.[24]

Shortly after six members of the crew of the *Houqua* had jumped ship, Captain Pease and his first mate appeared on June 3, 1833, before missionary George Pritchard, acting English consul, and two other Englishmen, Thomas Devol and J. J. Johnston.[25] According to a letter written by Pritchard on June 29, 1833, it had been reported that the men deserted "in consequence of ill treatment from Mr. Starbuck."[26] The three Englishmen determined, therefore, that the first mate of the *Houqua* should be discharged:

> As arbitraters, we do decide, that owing to various reports in reference to Mr. Starbuck, he that is Mr. Starbuck, should leave the vessel at this port and that Captn. Pease do give him a written discharge, paying him one barrel of spirits and 5 dollars, and the remaining part of his share in the oil already in the vessel with an order on the owners, from which order 15 dollars shall be deducted as Mr. Starbuck's part of the money for the Queen, Captn. Pease paying the other fifteen.[27]

The *Houqua* sailed from Tahiti on June 7, 1833.[28] Three days later, the deserters were rounded up and questioned by the acting English consul. It was found that "there was not one who professed to leave in consequence of ill treatment from Mr. Starbuck."[29]

The real reason why the first mate of the *Houqua* was discharged remains obscure. An affidavit made by Captain Pease on May 12, 1835, before John

Henry Clifford, notary public at New Bedford, further confuses the issue. According to Captain Pease's sworn statement, "Edward C. Starbuck the Mate & first officer of said Ship was discharged at the Island of Otaheite [Tahiti] during the recent voyage of said Ship, at his own request & did not return in her to the United States."[30] It would be interesting to know who was responsible for the "various reports in reference to Mr. Starbuck" and whether the blame for quarter-deck tyranny was passed from the master of the *Houqua* to the next in command. The full story of Mate Starbuck's discharge might be of significance in revealing the character of Melville's first whaling captain.

The recorded examination of the six deserters gives certain hints:

> *Martial Cook.* What induced you to leave your ship? When I shipped I understood that it was a 4 boat ship but only three have been lowered. We have not had enough to eat. We had but four barrels of meat for 32 days. Being much dissatisfied I determined to leave.
>
> *Thos. Shorter.* Where did you join the Houqua? At Maui, one of the Sandwich Islands. What induced you to run away? I have been disappointed in the Ship. I was informed that it was a four boat Ship, but it only lowers three. Another reason why I ran away was that I had not enough to eat.
>
> *Ben Mosier.*[31] What were you on board? A boatsteerer. What was your cause of leaving? A quarrel with the Cap^{tn}. He charged me with stealing a bucket of rum. I felt much hurt and determined to leave. Have you any other complaint to make? I was often ill treated in the Cabin. What ill treatment did you receive in the cabin[?] Frequently the Cap^{tn}. would have the things removed from the table which ought to have been left for us, and some times make us go into the boats without any thing to eat.[32]
>
> *Rich. Brown.* How came you to run away from your vessel? There were so many green hands on board. There were only 3 boats lowered instead of 4. We had such bad meat, not fit for a dog to eat.
>
> *Wm. Bartley.*[33] How came you to think of running away? Why sir, to tell you the truth I am afraid of a whale, the provisions were so bad that we had to throw two barrels overboard. Did you receive no ill treatment neither from the Cap^{tn} nor the Mate? No, I received no ill treatment on board.
>
> *Thos. Goodwrich.*[34] What reason have you to assign for deserting? We had a scanty allowance of provisions. Have you no other complaint to make? My feet were frostbitten when leaving America and they would not allow me to remain below, but made me attend to duty when I was not able.

> Have you anything else to say? She is so badly manned.

These charges of deserters from the *Houqua* echo familiarly in Herman Melville's characterization in *Typee* of the fictional whaling master, Captain Vangs, of whom Captain Valentine Pease, Jr., was perhaps the prototype:

> In numberless instances had not only the implied but the specified conditions of the articles been violated on the part of the ship in which I served. The usage on board of her was tyrannical; the sick had been inhumanly neglected; the provisions had been doled out in scanty allowance. . . . The captain was the author of these abuses; it was in vain to think that he would either remedy them, or alter his conduct, which was arbitrary and violent in the extreme. His prompt reply to all complaints and remonstrances was—the butt end of a hand-spike, so convincingly administered as effectually to silence the aggrieved party (4:20–21).

Despite extraordinary happenings to the personnel of the ship—two men killed by a whale, seven deaths by drowning, two discharges, and eleven desertions—the *Houqua*'s voyage was a financial success. She arrived at New Bedford on May 11, 1835, with 1,700 barrels of sperm oil aboard.[35] There must have been an element of grim irony in the settlement of shares due to ship's company, for only three members of the original crew and the captain were present to claim their lays.

Suggestive of the remuneration Captain Pease received from this voyage is the fact that when three owners of the *Houqua* sold their shares in the craft in 1835, he became joint-owner with Alexander Gibbs.[36]

Sometime between the date of his return to New Bedford and the spring of 1836, Captain Pease must have taken ship for St. John, New Brunswick, where he became captain or perhaps first officer of the new ship *Mechanic,*[37] constructed "expressly for the Whaling trade."[38]

The *Mechanic,* a coppered and copper-fastened craft of 399 tons, was built for the Saint John Mechanics' Whale Fishing Company and was launched on May 26, 1836. Visited by many citizens of St. John who were interested "in the new branch of trade from this port," she was pronounced "a beautifully modelled and faithfully built vessel, admirably adapted for her intended pursuit."[39] The *Mechanic* was said to be the fifth whaler built in the province, and Valentine Pease, Jr., as her master or first officer, became a pioneer in the 1833–50 revival of Canadian whaling.

Of the maiden voyage of this ship the known facts are scant indeed,[40] but there is record of a good part of her itinerary and some information about the luck of her cruises for whales. She went to sea in early June 1836.[41] Like the *Pequod* of *Moby-Dick* she sailed near the Azores, touched at the Cape de

Verde Islands, made her way through the Carroll Ground, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and, passing the Crozet Ground, cruised the waters of the Indian Ocean.[42] As she approached Australia, the *Mechanic* dropped down to the 45th parallel of south latitude. By February 4, 1837, she had cleared the southeast coast of Tasmania, and three weeks later she cast anchor at Bay of Islands, New Zealand, where she recruited for the first time in more than seven months of sailing and chasing whales.

On April 29, 1837, the ship "came to anchor in harbor of Akaroa and lay there till Sept 27 whaling."[43] The men of the *Mechanic* had exceptionally greasy luck: on passage they stowed down 700 barrels of whale oil; twelve months out, the craft was reported as having 1,400 barrels of whale oil and 140 barrels of sperm oil aboard "and a large whale alongside"; the next two months of bay whaling brought 800 additional barrels of black oil.[44] After a successful cruise in waters near New Zealand, the *Mechanic* recruited at Mangi Nui. By March 15, 1838, the casks of the whaler were full of oil and she was homeward-bound. She made her way across the Pacific Ocean, doubled Cape Horn, touched briefly at Rio de Janeiro, and reached home on July 27, 1838. The *Mechanic*'s voyage, lasting only a little more than two years, was an eminently prosperous one. She returned with "2860 barrels of black oil, 260 of sperm, and 27,500 pounds of whale bone."[45]

Although there was an unprecedented scarcity of seamen at St. John in July 1838, and mariners from neighboring ports were being offered immediate employment at high wages,[46] there is no evidence that Valentine Pease, Jr., went again to sea in a Canadian vessel. Neither is there record of his serving as master of an American whaler during the two and a half years before he assumed command of the *Acushnet*.

A few other bits of information have survived concerning Melville's first whaling skipper. Alexander Pease, nephew of Valentine Pease, Jr., in an interview in 1929 described his uncle as "a big man, quite tall" who "looked like any other whaling captain" and who wore side whiskers and an imperial, at least during the period after he had retired from the fishery. When he was shown Melville's description of Captain Vangs in *Typee* and it was suggested that this was a portrait of his uncle, Alexander Pease replied, "No, I don't recall that Uncle Val was a harsh man. . . . I should say he was an upright man, but at times quite profane."[47] He added that no whaling captain was worth his salt who was not a stern disciplinarian.

Abstract logs of three of the voyages made by Captain Pease suggest that he was a competent navigator, more attentive than the average whaling captain to hydrographic and navigational detail. There are many entries of soundings taken, and positions are recorded of a number of islands sighted that were not set down on contemporary nautical charts.

Captain Pease was forty-three years old in 1840,[48] and the maiden voyage of the *Acushnet* would be his last as a whaling master. Doubtless he was determined, as he watched the new ship being fitted out for sea, that the hold of the craft would be filled with sperm oil before he returned to Martha's Vineyard to live in retirement. He could not know, as casks, provisions, and whaling gear were brought aboard, that the voyage ahead would begin auspiciously but would later be attended with hard luck; that he would be forced to give up the pursuit of sperm whales and would have to fill his ship with black oil and whalebone; that he would never again see the wife he bade goodbye at Edgartown;[49] that he would be seriously ill during the voyage;[50] or that he would have his share of trouble with both officers and men of the ship.

Least of all could he imagine that a green hand who joined the crew of the *Acushnet* on Christmas day 1840 would write the classic of all whaling narratives. He could probably as little conceive of this as Herman Melville could fancy in 1840 that he would have a daughter who would some day own, by ironic coincidence, the home on Water Street in Edgartown that Valentine Pease, Jr., would build with the profits of his voyage in the *Acushnet*.[51]

CHAPTER 4

Ship's Company

> Now, at sea, and in the fellowship of sailors, all men appear as they are. No school like a ship for studying human nature. The contact of one man with another is too near and constant to favor deceit. You wear your character as loosely as your flowing trowsers. Vain all endeavors to assume qualities not yours; or to conceal those you possess. . . . And thus aboard of all ships in which I have sailed, I have invariably been known by a sort of drawing-room title. Not,—let me hurry to say,—that I put hand in tar bucket with a squeamish air, or ascended the rigging with a Chesterfieldian mince. No, no, I was never better than my vocation; and mine have been many. I showed as brown a chest, and as hard a hand, as the tarriest tar of them all. And never did shipmate of mine upbraid me with a genteel disinclination to duty, though it carried me to truck of main-mast, or jib-boom-end, in the most wolfish blast that ever howled.
>
> Whence then, this annoying appellation? for annoying it most assuredly was. It was because of something in me that could not be hidden; stealing out in an occasional polysyllable; an otherwise incomprehensible deliberation in dining; remote, unguarded allusions to Belles-Lettres affairs; and other trifles superfluous to mention.
>
> —*Mardi,* Chapter 3

Six days after the *Acushnet* came to anchor in the harbor of Fairhaven, Joseph Waren Stedman, engaged as the cooper, became the first member of the ship's company to sign the Whalemen's Shipping Paper, or ship's articles, for the voyage.[1] On December 30, 1840, twenty days later, when the signatures of the captain, first officer, second mate, and two seamen were affixed, the roster of officers and men was complete, and the Official Crew List, for deposit at the New Bedford Custom House, and the Master's Crew List, to be carried on the voyage by Captain Pease, were filled out.[2] Ship's company at this time totalled twenty-six officers and men.

The master and three mates were quartered aft; the boatsteerers or harpooners, a cooper, a blacksmith, a cook, and perhaps the man engaged as "Carpenter caulker & seaman" were quartered amidships in the steerage.[3] In the new and clean, but doubtless small, forecastle six seamen, two ordinary

seamen, and eight green hands, including Melville, lived together. Almost one third of the ship's personnel had never before been on a whaling voyage. Seven of the men were incapable of writing their own names.[4]

Five of the crew were foreigners and not entitled during the voyage to relief and protection afforded American seamen; the others were either American-born or naturalized citizens.[5] The third mate and three of the men were Portuguese, and the carpenter-caulker-seaman was Scottish. The second mate was English-born but evidently a naturalized citizen of the United States. There were three black men in the crew, two seamen and the cook.

Lacking in the ship's company were the "mongrel renegades, and castaways, and cannibals" (*Moby-Dick,* 41:186) or the heterogeneous collection of personnel—Manila-men, Lascars, Polynesians, American Indians, Africans, and the like—who so dramatically manned the *Pequod* of *Moby-Dick.* South Sea islanders, other Portuguese, an Englishman, and a Frenchman would join the *Acushnet* before the crew of her maiden voyage was complete, but not until after Melville's desertion from the craft. At sailing time her ship's company would be like, if perhaps a little more mature than, those of the many whalers that went to sea in the 1840s from the ports of New Bedford, Fairhaven, Nantucket, and Edgartown: largely composed of American men with a scattering of Portuguese from the Azores or the Cape Verdes.[6]

The officers and men who signed the Whalemen's Shipping Paper engaged for the *Acushnet's* voyage at varying lays, proportioned, Melville writes, "to the degree of importance pertaining to the respective duties of the ship's company" (*Moby-Dick,* 16:75). Captain Pease, as master and part owner, received the 1/16th lay. The lowest green hand's lay was 1/190. Melville's was 1/175.

The members of the ship's company of the *Acushnet* for her maiden voyage are shown in the following list. They are described from information found in the Whalemen's Shipping Paper, the two crew lists, and appended certificates. (Data on Captain Pease is from the Whalemen's Shipping Paper only.) In all cases except that of the captain, the data given are name, position, birthplace, current residence, age, height, complexion, hair color, lay, date of signing of the ship's articles, and witness.[7]

Officers:

Valentine Pease, Jr., master. Nantucket, Edgartown, 43, 1/16, 12–30–1840, Wilson Barstow.

Frederic Raymond, first officer. Nantucket, Nantucket, 37, 5'7 3/4", dark, dark, 1/25, 12–30–1840, John H. Thompson.

John Hall, second officer. England, Nantucket, 30, 5'11", light, brown, 1/42, 12–30–1840, Henry F. Hubbard.

George W. Galvan, third mate. Fayall, Rochester, Massachusetts, 25, 5'9", light, brown, 1/65, 12–21–1840, B. S. Adams.

Junior Officers:

Wilson Barnet, boatsteerer. Elizabeth City, North Carolina, Fairhaven, 25, 5'5 1/2", light, brown, 1/75, 12–16–1840, John H. Thompson.

David Smith, boatsteerer. Philadelphia, New Bedford, 26, 5'4", dark, black, 1/80, 12–14–1840, John H. Thompson.

Specialists:

Joseph Waren Stedman, cooper. Boston, New Bedford, 25, 5'2 1/2", dark, black, 1/65, 12–10–1840, John H. Thompson.

David M. White, carpenter, caulker, seaman. Scotland, Fairhaven, 35, 5'7", dark, brown, 1/145, Dec. 26, 1840, John H. Thompson.

Ephraim Walcut, seaman, blacksmith. Stow, New York, Fairhaven, 35, 5'6 1/4", light, brown, 1/145, 12–18–1840, H. N. Kimball.

William Maiden, cook. Philadelphia, New Bedford, 38, 5'9 1/4", black, "wo[o]lly," 1/145, 12–18–1840, Nath Head.

Foremast Hands:

John Adams, seaman. Cape de Verd Islands, Fairhaven, 21, 5'6", dark, dark, 1/155, 12–17–1840, B. S. Adams.

Martin Brown, seaman. Fayall, Fairhaven, 26, 5'5", dark, dark, 1/145, 12–30–1840, W. Barstow.

Thomas Johnson, seaman. Norwich, New York, New Bedford, 22, 5'9 1/2", black, "woolly," 1/145, 12–14–1840, J. D. Sturtevant.

Joseph Luis, seaman. Fayall, Portugal, 20, 5'5", light, brown, 1/170, 12–14–1840, J. D. Sturtevant.

Robert Mury, seaman. New York, New Bedford, 25, 5'4", light, brown, 1/165, 12–30–1840, Henry F. Hubbard.

Enoch Read, seaman. Warren, Ohio, New Bedford, 24, 5'9", mulatto, "woolly," 1/145, 12–14–1840, J. D. Sturtevant.

George Eliot, ordinary seaman. New York, New Bedford, 23, 5'6", dark, brown, 1/150, 12–16–1840, Atkins Adams.

James Williams, ordinary seaman. Smithfield, Rhode Island, New Bedford, 24, 5'7," dark, dark, 1/175, 12–29–1840, Valentine Bradford.

Joseph Broadrick, green hand. Boston, Fairhaven, 18, 5'6", dark, dark, 1/185, 12–18–1840, H. N. Kimball.

Henry Grant, green hand. Portland, Maine, Fairhaven, 17, 5'8 1/2", light, brown, 1/185, 12–18–1840, H. N. Kimball.

Carlos W. Greene, green hand. New York, Fairhaven, 19, 5'5 1/2", light, brown, 1/190, 12–18–1840, Jonathan Butrick.

Richard T. Greene, green hand. Rochester, New York, Fairhaven, 21, 5'5 1/2", dark, black, 1/180, 12–17–1840, B. Ewer, Jr.

Henry Harmer, green hand. Herkimer, New York, New Bedford, 20, 5'5", light, brown, 1/180, 12–15–1840, Nath Head.
Henry F. Hubbard, green hand. Charlestown, New Hampshire, Fairhaven, 20, 5'9", light, brown, 1/175, 12–28–1840, John H. Thompson.
Herman Melville, green hand. New York, Fairhaven, 21, 5'9 1/2",dark, brown, 1/175, 12–25–1840, Jeremiah Taber.
John Wright, green hand. Weybridge, Vermont, New Bedford, 18, 5'5 3/4", light, brown, 1/180, 12–17–1840, B. Ewer, Jr.

This factual listing of names and information is invested with some reality when it is associated with portions of Melville's books about the South Seas and with two manuscript memoranda left by him.[8] Captain Pease, as has already been suggested, seems to have served to some extent as the prototype of the irascible, harsh Captain Vangs, master of the *Dolly* in *Typee.*[9] John Hall, second mate of the *Acushnet,* is mentioned with evident respect by Melville as being the officer who, during the voyage, discussed Owen Chase and the sinking of the Nantucket whaleship *Essex* by a huge whale in 1820.[10] If Melville's statement in *Typee* that he belonged to the starboard watch of the *Dolly*[11] is an authentic reminiscence of his duty aboard the *Acushnet,* then he must have served under Mate Hall, for it was customary for the second mates of whalers to command the starboard watch.[12] Mr. Hall, according to Melville's testimony, had twice sailed on three-year voyages in the Nantucket whaler *Charles Carroll* under the command of Captain Owen Chase.[13]

Of the first officer, Frederick Raymond of Nantucket, or the third mate, George W. Galvan, a Portuguese man, little is available in the way of illuminating information. In 1853 Henry F. Hubbard reported to Melville that Mr. Raymond "had a fight with the Captain & went ashore at Payta"[14] and that Mr. Galvan left the *Acushnet* at the same place.[15] There is official confirmation of the discharge of these two officers in a consular certificate signed on December 14, 1842, by Alex Ruden, Jr., United States Consul at Payta, Peru, but nothing to indicate the nature of the friction between Captain Pease and two of his officers or whether by "fight" Hubbard meant physical violence or simply an argument.[16] It is not possible to determine from available evidence whether this friction, which reached a climax five months after Melville left the *Acushnet,* existed during the time of his service in the ship. Nor is there any information to suggest that the antagonism between Captain Pease and his first mate may have constituted in part the experiential basis of that between Captain Ahab and Starbuck in *Moby-Dick.*

Wilson Barnet, one of the harpooners and the only southerner in the crew, was referred to by Melville in 1853 as "Barney," which suggests an intimacy closer than that with other junior officers of the craft, called simply Brown and Smith.[17] Perhaps Barnet was boatsteerer of the whaleboat in

which Melville served and harpooned the whales that that boat captured. He was the only member of the original ship's company of the *Acushnet* to go to sea in her for a second voyage and the only junior officer to rise after the maiden voyage to the status of mate of the ship.[18]

Melville knew members of the crew by their nicknames: Carlos Greene was Bill, Joseph Luis was Jo Portuguese,[19] Thomas Johnson was Tom, and Joseph Broadrick was probably Little Jack.[20] Some of the crew Melville remembered in after years by their last names or occupations on shipboard. He evidently forgot George Eliot and Henry Harmer.[21] Two friendships formed with green hands in the crew outlasted the voyage: Henry F. Hubbard visited Melville at Pittsfield in 1853 and gave an account of circumstances aboard the *Acushnet* after Melville had left her, and Richard T. Greene, who jumped ship with Melville at Nukahiva, became the Toby of *Typee.*

During the voyage Melville, as reported by his brother Gansevoort, referred to the men of the *Acushnet* as being superior in several respects to the average run of whaling crews.[22] But in *Typee,* when giving reasons why he deserted the *Dolly,* the narrator characterized her crew, which, one would expect, owed something to that of the *Acushnet,* as being with a few exceptions "as coarse in person as in mind" (5:32)—"a parcel of dastardly and mean-spirited wretches, divided among themselves, and only united in enduring without resistance the unmitigated tyranny of the captain" (4:21).

Of the original group of twenty-six officers and men who had signed the Ship's Articles by December 30, 1840, only eleven completed the voyage: the captain, the second mate, one boatsteerer, the cooper, the cook, three seamen, and three green hands.[23] Eleven of the men deserted, and four others—the first and third mates, a seaman, and a green hand—were regularly discharged.[24] Two of the crew shirked their agreement and left the craft in Fairhaven before sailing time, and a boatsteerer disappeared in Peru while Melville was still serving as a crew member. One of the original signers of the Ship's Articles was discharged "half dead" with venereal disease, and another "half dead, spitting blood, at Oahu," while a third would desert and perhaps be killed at Roa-Pua in the Marquesas Islands.[25] Herman Melville and Richard T. Greene, deserting together at Nukahiva, were the fourth and fifth members of the crew successfully to jump ship.

For one reason or another, then, the *Acushnet* lost fifteen and returned with eleven from its original company. So, as the voyage continued, it was necessary to augment the dwindling ship's company at a number of recruiting ports. A total of twenty-nine additional men had to be shipped by Captain Pease, four of them while Melville served aboard the whaler.[26] Of this group nine men deserted and four were regularly discharged. The *Acushnet* arrived home on May 13, 1845, with a complement of twenty-seven men, sixteen of

whom joined the craft during the voyage. One of the returning whalemen signed on at Talcahuano in late January 1845 receiving in pay "ten cents a month."[27] Fifty-five men served in the *Acushnet* during the four years, four months, and ten days of her maiden voyage, of whom twenty deserted and eight were regularly discharged.[28] There was not a single casualty at sea on this voyage, either from the hazards of work aboard the craft or from an encounter with a real-life Moby Dick.

CHAPTER 5

The Agreement and the Law

> To whom could we apply for redress? We had left both law and equity on the other side of the Cape.
>
> —*Typee,* Chapter 4

The ten articles of the Whalemen's Shipping Paper that Herman Melville and twenty-five other members of the original ship's company of the *Acushnet* had signed on December 30, 1840, constitute an important document in the study of Melville's whaling career. It provides the only legal evidence of the contract for the voyage and differs in at least two respects from the usual shipping paper of a merchant vessel: it indicates the nature of payment to the men for their duty during the voyage and it is very particular in detailing punishable misdemeanors and vices. It makes emphatically clear the sovereignty of the whaling master, at whose whim a boatsteerer might be turned before the mast or a forecastle man reduced in rating. The Shipping Paper reads:

> 1st. IT IS AGREED between the Owner[s], Master, Seamen and Mariners, of the *Ship Acushnet Valentine Pease Master* now bound from the Port of *Newbedford & Fairhaven to the Pacific Ocean or any other Bays or oceans or Sounds the Master may direct*—THAT in consideration of the share against each respective Seaman or Mariner's name hereunder set, they severally shall and will perform the above-mentioned voyage; and the said Owner[s] and Master, do hereby agree with, and hire the said Seamen or Mariners for the said voyage, as such shares of the net proceeds, or of the actual products of the voyage, to be paid pursuant to this agreement, and the custom and usage in the port of *Fairhaven & Newbedford*
>
> 2d. And they, the said Seamen and Mariners, do severally hereby promise and oblige themselves to do their duty, and obey the lawful commands of the Officers on board said *Ship* or the boats thereunto belonging, as become good and faithful Seamen or Mariners, while cruising for whales, and at all places where the said *Ship* shall put in, or anchor at, during the said voyage; to use their best endeavours to obtain a cargo of oil;—and for the preservation of the said vessel and cargo;—and not to neglect or refuse doing their duty by day or night; and that they shall not go out of said *Ship* on board any other vessel, or be on shore, under any pretense whatsoever, until the

aforesaid voyage be ended, and the vessel discharged of her loading, without leave first obtained of the Captain or Commanding Officer on board; that in default thereof, he or they shall be liable to all the penalties and forfeitures mentioned in the Marine Law, enacted for the Government and Regulation of Seamen in the Merchant's Service: it being understood that said forfeiture shall be estimated according to his or their respective Shares of the net proceeds of the voyage, and the length of the same conjointly.

3d. AND IT IS FURTHER AGREED by all the parties to this contract, that such regulations as a just regard to the good order, effectual government, health and moral habits of the Officers and Men shall be established and observed on board the said vessel. And to ensure proper attention to this important object, it shall be the duty of the Officer having the care of the Log Book, to note therein daily all flagrant breaches of the same. It shall especially be his duty to record all instances of drunkeness [*sic*], all cases of absence from the said *Ship* by any Officer or Seaman with or without permission after sunset, or beyond the time prescribed for their absence,—every instance of absence, by any officer or Seaman through the night, whether on shore or on board of any other vessel,—every instance of the introduction of any woman or women into the Ship for licentious purposes,—every instance of disability for the performance of Ship's duty, which may occur, with the cause of it,—if occasioned by sickness or infirmity, the nature and origin of the same, if known, to be particularly stated, especially if it be the consequence of their own misconduct. And in case of the Officer who may usually have charge of the Log Book being implicated in any of the misdemeanors or disabilities herein mentioned, it shall be the duty of the Master to make, or cause to be made by another hand an entry of the same on the Log Book. And it shall be the duty of the Master to see that a proper record is kept therein of all the matters mentioned in this article according to its true intent and meaning.

4th. The Officer having charge of the Watch on Deck for the time being, shall be responsible for the maintainance of the regulation in regard to the admission of women—and in case of any getting on board unperceived, they shall forthwith be expelled by him, or if not able to do so the case shall be immediately reported to the Captain or Commanding Officer on board, whose duty it shall be to enforce their immediate expulsion. On the failure of any Officer in this part of his duty, either wilfully or through negligence, each and every Officer so failing, shall forfeit twenty day's pay for every such offence, and any other Officer or Seaman who shall abet any breach of the said regulation—or refuse when lawfully called upon to aid in sustaining it, or shall be proved to have had a criminal intercourse with any such woman or women on board, shall forfeit for each such [offense], five day's pay—for every instance of drunkeness [*sic*] two days pay shall be forfeited,

and a similar forfeiture shall take place for each day that any Seaman or Officer shall be off duty from sickness or disability caused by intemperance or licentiousness—the forfeitures in all these cases to be estimated as in the second article, and to go to the use of the owners of said [Ship]

5th. All expenses which may be necessarily incurred during the voyage with direct reference to any of the misdemeanors or disabilities enumerated in the third article—or to any attempt at desertion or other disobedient or mutinous conduct, shall be charged to the individual or individuals by reason of whom they may have been incurred.

6th. It is further agreed that if any Officer or Seaman, after a fair trial, if his abilities and disposition shall be judged by the Master incompetent or indisposed to the proper discharge of the duties of his station, the master shall have a right to displace him and substitute another in his stead,—a corresponding reduction of the lay of such Officer or Seaman with reference to the duty which he may afterwards perform, thenceforth to take effect; and a reasonable increase of the lay of the individual who may thereupon be promoted to a higher station, shall be made on the final adjustment of the voyage.

7th. It is understood and agreed that if any Officer or Seaman shall be prevented by sickness or death from performing the voyage, his legal representatives shall be entitled to such part of the whole amount of his stipulated share, as the time of his services on board shall be of the whole term of the voyage.

8th. It is further agreed that whatever apparel, furniture, or stores belonging to the said vessel, may be given in charge by the master to any Officer or Seaman, shall be accounted for by him, and in case any thing shall be lost or damaged through his carelessness or neglect, it shall be made good to the owners, by such officer or seaman. And whatever officer or seaman the master shall appoint for the duty, shall take charge of any portion of the cargo or ship's stores required to be landed or brought on board in any boats or lighter, and faithfully perform the services assigned, and see that the said cargo or stores are safely landed and delivered, or brought on board the said vessel as the case may be.

9th. Each and every Officer and Seaman, who shall well and truly have performed the above mentioned Voyage, complied with the regulations and duties herein specified, and committed no dishonest or unlawful acts, shall be entitled to the payment of his share of the net proceeds of the voyage pursuant to this agreement, as soon after the return of the said *Ship* to

> *Fairhaven* as the oil and other products of the voyage can be sold and the settlement adjusted by the owner[s] or agent of the said *Ship*
>
> 10th. In testimony of our assent, consent and agreement faithfully to perform the various duties and obligations implied in the preceding articles, and in acknowledgment of their being voluntary, and without any compulsory or clandestine means being used, we have, each and every of us, severally, hereunto affixed our names, on the day and year against them respectively written.[1]

Thus speak the ten articles of the Whalemen's Shipping Paper that Melville and the twenty-five other members of the original ship's company of the *Acushnet* signed by December 30, 1840. These articles of agreement were followed by a temperance pledge, in larger type, to which the forefinger of a printed hand pointed admonishingly:

> No distilled Spiritous Liquor will be put on board this vessel by the Owner, except for strictly medical use:—and by their signatures the other parties to this contract *pledge* themselves not to take any of these articles with them as their private Stores, or for traffic, either from this port or any other port or place where they may be, during the voyage. And in case of a violation of this *pledge* by the Master or any Officer or Seaman, his entire share of the voyage shall be thereupon forfeited to the use of the owners of the said *Ship*

The virtual capture of the *Dolly* in *Typee* by beautiful Marquesan girls when that ship arrived at Nukahiva,[2] if a veritable recollection of Melville's experiences, constituted an interesting violation of Article Four of the Agreement, a violation that would have doubtless displeased the New Bedford owner of the *Acushnet* who was a director of the Port Society for the Moral Improvement of Seamen. And if the actual Captain Pease and the fictional Captain Vangs of *Typee* may be equated, then the numberless instances in which "not only the implied but the specified conditions of the articles" (*Typee,* 4:20) were violated may have been among Melville's reasons for deserting from the *Acushnet* after eighteen months of duty aboard her.

On the back of the Whalemen's Shipping Paper were printed three extracts from laws passed by Congress for the government of merchant seamen, which are relevant to events of the *Acushnet*'s maiden voyage.

Applicable to two members of the crew who deserted the craft before she sailed was Section Two of the "Act for the Government and Regulation of Seamen in the Merchant Service," passed July 20, 1790, and still binding in the 1840s. This act required a memorandum in writing at the foot of every contract, stating the day and hour on which the seamen and mariners who

had shipped should render themselves on board to begin the voyage agreed upon. Entries in the logbook of the vessel should be made of all members of the crew who failed to be aboard at such a time, and a forfeit of one day's pay for every hour not aboard beyond the agreed time would be exacted from any offender's wages. In cases of desertion at the sailing port, seamen, if apprehended, would be required to pay a sum equal to that which had been advanced at the time of signing the articles, "over and besides the sum so advanced," both sums recoverable in any United States court.

Curiously lacking from the printed extracts is Section Five of the Act of 1790, which states that a mariner who deserted ship for more than forty-eight hours would forfeit his wages, his goods and chattels on board, and be liable to pay all damages sustained by the owners, by reason of their having to hire other mariners in his place.[3]

"An Act in amendment of the Acts for the punishment of offences against the United States," passed March 3, 1835, promised both fines and imprisonment, but not the death penalty, for effected mutiny at sea. Section Three of this act was a warning to tyrannical captains and mates:

> [If] any master or other officer of any American ship or vessel on the high seas . . . shall from malice, hatred, or revenge, and without justifiable cause beat, wound, or imprison any one or more of the crew of such ship or vessel, or withhold from them suitable food and nourishment, or inflict upon them any cruel or unusual punishment, every such person so offending shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both according to the nature and aggravation of the offence.

These were well-intentioned laws, but, as Melville pointed out, one could not always easily apply for redress when his ship had "left both law and equity on the other side of the Cape" (*Typee,* 4:21).

No portion of the recently passed "Act in addition to the Several Acts Regulating the Shipment and Discharge of Seamen, and the Duties of Consuls," of July 20, 1840, was printed on the Whalemen's Shipping Paper of the *Acushnet.* Several sections of this law are pertinent to Melville's whaling experiences. If the port had been one where there was a consul or commercial agent, which was not the case at Nukahiva, and if Melville had known Section 16 of this act, his leaving the *Acushnet* might have occurred under more honorable conditions:

> The crew of any vessel shall have the fullest liberty to lay their complaints before the consul or comercial agent in any foreign port, and shall in no respect be restrained or hindered therein by the master or any officer, unless

> some sufficient and valid objections exist against their landing; in which case, if any mariner desire to see the consul or commercial agent, it shall be the duty of the master to acquaint him with it forthwith, stating the reason why the mariner is not permitted to land, and that he is desired to come on board; whereupon it shall be the duty of such consul or commercial agent to repair on board and inquire into the causes of the complaint, and to proceed thereon as this act directs.

Deserting as he did from the *Acushnet,* Melville was subject, according to Section 11 of this act, to apprehension by all informed consuls or commercial agents. But, according to Section 17, if he were captured at any port by such a representative of the United States, he was entitled to honorable discharge and pay, if in the opinion of the consul or commercial agent his desertion had been provoked by unusual or cruel treatment from his captain.

The relevance of the act to Melville's situation will become clear when we see him desert at Nukahiva. The likelihood—or consequences—of either Melville or his captain knowing or invoking the act are not clear. But first there was a lot of whaling at hand.

CHAPTER 6
All Astir

They send you to New Bedford, that famous whaling port,
And give you to some land-sharks to board and fit you out.
They send you to a boarding-house, there for a time to dwell;
The thieves they there are thicker than the other side of hell!
They tell you of the clipper-ships a-going in and out,
And say you'll take five hundred sperm before you're six months out.

—from "Blow, Ye Winds," whaling song[1]

Like Ishmael of *Moby-Dick,* who arrived at Nantucket at a period when the *Pequod*'s preparations for sea were hurrying to a close,[2] Melville came to Fairhaven at a time when the fitting-out of the *Acushnet* was well advanced. The whaler had tied up on December 4, 1840, beside one of the Fairhaven docks, and in the intervening three weeks before Melville joined the crew, there had been a constant stir of activity aboard her. In the cold December weather, oxcarts had arrived at the dock with great quantities of provisions, ship's equipment, and whaling craft and gear. Workmen had been busy fitting rigging, bending heavy sails, and heaving and stowing heavy casks in the hold.

There was still much fetching and carrying onboard during the nine remaining days before the *Acushnet* set sail. She was being readied for a voyage that was planned to last fifty-two months, one during which her skipper, if he was lucky, would purchase nothing in foreign recruiting ports except necessary fresh food. Since the *Acushnet* was a new ship, her outfitters had to start from scratch.

Melville writes in *Typee:*

> The very preparations made for one of these expeditions are enough to frighten one. As the vessel carries out no cargo, her hold is filled with provisions for her own consumption. The owners, who officiate as caterers for the voyage, supply the larder with an abundance of dainties. Delicate morsels of beef and pork, cut on scientific principles from every part of the animal, and of all conceivable shapes and sizes, are carefully packed in salt, and stored away in barrels; affording a never-ending variety in their different degrees of toughness, and in the peculiarities of their saline properties. Choice old water too, decanted into stout six-barrel-casks, and two pints

> of which are allowed every day to each soul on board; together with ample store of sea-bread, previously reduced to a state of petrifaction, with a view to preserve it either from decay or consumption in the ordinary mode, are likewise provided for the nourishment and gastronomic enjoyment of the crew (4:21–22).

So far as is known, no detailed bill of lading for the *Acushnet* has survived, but her Outward Foreign Manifest is extant. This document described the whole cargo of the ship as "Provisions Water Whale Craft and Outfits" and estimated its value at $16,000.[3]

A representative American whaler, sailing for the South Seas in 1844, carried the following quantity and variety of necessities:[4]

Oil casks	2800	bbls. [barrels]
Southern pine heading	9881	ft.
Iron hoops	12 1/2	tons
Beef and pork	240	bbls.
Flour	220	bbls.
Corn	75	bus.
Beans and peas	14	bus.
Corn meal	5	bbls.
Tobacco	2300	lbs.
Rice	1200	bus.
Potatoes	150	bus.
Cheese	800	lbs.
Butter	900	lbs.
Dried apples	600	lbs.
Vinegar	10	bbls.
Tar	20	bbls.
Whale boats	6	boats
Oars	7	sets
Boards	4000	sq. ft.
Composition nails	700	lbs.
Sheathing copper	8500	lbs.
Cordage	8500	lbs.
Tow lines	3000	lbs.
Try pots	3	pots
Cod fish	800	lbs.
Domestics for recruits (including calico)	6000	yards
Iron crafts	4000	lbs.
Ready-made clothing	Amt. not given; cost $2800	
Molasses	1600	gals.
Black tea	250	lbs.

Hyson tea	20	lbs.
Heavy duck	60	pieces
Light duck	36	pieces
Raisins	200	lbs.
Sugar	1000	lbs.
Coffee	1000	lbs.

Such a cargo, which does not include navigational gear or many of the items required for a new ship, cost in 1844 approximately $16,000, labor excluded.

Readying a ship for whaling, Melville observes in *Moby-Dick,* resembles the complete furnishing of a new house:

> Every one knows what a multitude of things—beds, sauce-pans, knives and forks, shovels and tongs, napkins, nut-crackers, and what not, are indispensable to the business of housekeeping. Just so with whaling, which necessitates a three-years' [four years for the *Acushnet*] housekeeping upon the wide ocean, far from all grocers, coster-mongers, doctors, bakers, and bankers. And though this also holds true of merchant vessels, yet not by any means to the same extent as with whalemen. For besides the great length of the whaling voyage, the numerous articles peculiar to the prosecution of the fishery, and the impossibility of replacing them at the remote harbors usually frequented, it must be remembered, that of all ships, whaling vessels are the most exposed to accidents of all kinds, and especially to the destruction and loss of the very things upon which the success of the voyage most depends. Hence, the spare boats, spare spars, and spare lines and harpoons, and spare everythings, almost, but a spare Captain and duplicate ship. (20:95–96)

Fairhaven and New Bedford were the metropolis of whaling in Melville's day, and the sheer activity on all sides would make the same impression on a green hand that coming to the big city is classically represented as making on a country boy. One may get an impression of the nautical busy-ness that Melville walked into in Fairhaven and New Bedford by a glance around the docks. The day that Melville's ship arrived at Fairhaven from Mattapoisett, the ship *James Monroe* had sailed for the Pacific Ocean, and three whalers, the *Erie,* the *Eagle,* and the *George,* lay in the harbor fitting out. Across the Acushnet River in New Bedford, nine whalers were at anchor. The barque *Hope* had returned five days before from a "plum-pudding voyage" in the Atlantic with a cargo of 850 barrels of sperm oil, and the ship *Orozimbo,* which had sailed on November 16, had put back into port, having lost her bowsprit. The ships *Herald, Margaret Scott, Moss, Mount Vernon, Young Phenix,* and the barques *Cherokee* and *Maria,* all from New Bedford, were taking aboard supplies and making ready for whaling.[5]

By December 10, when the first member of the crew had signed the

Acushnet's Ship's Articles, the *Orozimbo,* her bowsprit repaired, had sailed again,[6] and the *Sharon* had come into port. The *Sharon,* which tied up at a Fairhaven dock near the *Acushnet,* had hatches chockablock with 2,500 barrels of sperm oil, worth approximately $80,000 at the prevailing price.[7] The *Rousseau,* which the *Acushnet* would meet again in the Galápagos and which Melville would mention in *Mardi,* came in with 2,000 barrels of sperm oil on December 11.[8] By the time that Melville signed on the *Acushnet,* the ships *Eagle, Erie, Herald, Moss, Mount Vernon,* and *Young Phenix* and the barque *Cherokee* had left for the Pacific[9] and the barque *Emma* for the Atlantic.[10] There were apparently only seven whalers, including the *Acushnet,* in the two harbors on Christmas Day: the *George,* provisioning, and the *Sharon,* unloading, at Fairhaven docks, and the ships *Rousseau* and *Margaret Scott* and barques *Hope* and *Maria* across the river in New Bedford.

On just what bleak December day Herman Melville arrived at the scene of these whaling preparations is not known, but it is perhaps more than a coincidence that a New Bedford ship, the *Moss,* which sailed on December 23,[11] bore the same name as the packet schooner in *Moby-Dick* that carried Ishmael and Queequeg from New Bedford to Nantucket.[12] Melville was in Fairhaven on Christmas Day when he signed on for his first whaling voyage. It was Saturday (the same day of the week that Ishmael in *Moby-Dick* arrived in New Bedford),[13] December 26, when Melville crossed the river from Fairhaven to the larger whaling port, there to sign a Seaman's Protection Paper, swearing that he was born in New York City, and giving his age as twenty-one years, his height 5 feet 9 1/2 inches, complexion dark, hair brown, and eyes blue.[14]

This same Saturday, the ship *Charles* arrived in New Bedford from Talcahuano, Chile, her last recruiting port, with 1,950 barrels of sperm oil.[15] The mariners of this vessel, heavily tanned by the tropic sun of the Pacific Ocean, must have appeared anomalous creatures, wearing their shaggy watch coats in the cold New England setting. One wonders if the crew of the *Charles* was a model for the crew of the *Grampus* in *Moby-Dick*—and if so, whether there was a seaman on the *Charles* like Bulkington in Chapter 23 of *Moby-Dick.*[16] Melville would cross paths with the *Charles* when it was recruiting in Nukahiva in July 1842.[17]

Richard Tobias Greene, Melville's shipmate on the *Acushnet,* stated in 1846, "when we shipped at New Bedford, the ship's owners advanced some $84, on the strength of our future services and earnings."[18] Melville's pockets may have been "in ballast trim" with such an advance—unless he dutifully sent some of it home to his mother.

"In this same New Bedford there stands a Whaleman's Chapel, and few are the moody fishermen, shortly bound for the Indian Ocean or Pacific, who fail to make a Sunday visit to the spot" (*Moby-Dick,* 7:34). Ishmael was a silent

worshipper at this conventicle. Whether Melville was or not, his description of it makes it seem that he was; it continues to draw readers of the novel to the restored Seamen's Bethel on Johnny Cake Hill on which the fictional chapel is modelled. In both the fictional and the real chapel, one reads on the walls gloomy cenotaphs recording the deaths of whalemen in the fishery, pointed omens in this early part of *Moby-Dick.*

If Melville did attend a church service at the chapel, it is possible that he heard the chaplain, the Reverend Enoch Mudge, then in his sixty-fourth year, preach—perhaps even on Jonah and the whale.[19] Interestingly, *Sailor's Magazine,* organ of the American Seamen's Friend Society, which regularly carried on its back cover the Reverend Mr. Mudge's name, had as its leading article in the December 1840 issue the ninth of a series of "Sermons on Jonah's Voyage, Addressed to Mariners. By John Ryther, of Wapping, England."[20] Chaplain Mudge would not have needed to be as eloquent as *Moby-Dick*'s Father Mapple to impress a green hand about to sail on his first whaling voyage.[21]

Wednesday, December 30, was a busy day for Captain Pease, who, like Jonah's captain in Father Mapple's sermon, was "hurriedly making out his papers for the Customs" (*Moby-Dick,* 9:44). The Whalemen's Shipping Paper was completed,[22] and from it duplicate copies were made for the master and home owners of the *Acushnet.* The Official Crew List, for deposit at the New Bedford Custom House, and the Master's Crew List, to be carried on the voyage, were filled out. Captain Pease and Melvin O. Bradford made a bond of $400 that upon the return of the *Acushnet* to the United States the master's copy of the crew list would be shown to the first boarding officer and that members of the crew named therein would be produced or would be accounted for by official consular or commercial agency certificates.[23] The ship's register was deposited and other required documents executed.

Within the next few days word was given at all the inns where crew members were stopping that their chests should be brought on board in readiness for the *Acushnet*'s sailing. At the appointed time, probably on Thursday, December 31, the ship's muster roll was called. Two men, David M. White, the Scottish carpenter-caulker-seaman, and James Williams, ordinary seaman, were absent. When they still had not rendered themselves on board the ship on New Year's Day, Alexander Barron was shipped in their stead. He was given the berth of boatsteerer and carpenter at the 1/75th lay, and his signature was witnessed by shipbuilder Wilson Barstow.[24] On January 2, 1841, White and Williams were officially declared deserters from the *Acushnet,* and a record of their failure to join the crew was made on the Master's Crew List and Whalemen's Shipping Paper.[25] Ship's company at sailing time totalled twenty-five men.

As was customary for vessels cleared for whaling, the *Acushnet* was hauled out into the stream. Near her lay the *George* of Fairhaven, which would sail the same day.

On Sunday, January 3, 1841, Captain Pease came aboard with his chronometer. The pilot (perhaps Zaccheus M. Allen, one of the owners)[26] was brought alongside in a boat and assumed his post in the forward part of the ship. Standing off before the wind, the ship glided down the Acushnet River. Melville describes the departure of Ishmael and Queequeg from New Bedford:

> On one side, New Bedford rose in terraces of streets, their ice-covered trees all glittering in the clear, cold air. Huge hills and mountains of casks on casks were piled upon her wharves, and side by side the world-wandering whale ships lay silent and safely moored at last; while from others came a sound . . . betokening that new cruises were on the start; that one most perilous and long voyage ended, only begins a second; and a second ended, only begins a third, and so on, for ever and for aye. Such is the endlessness, yea, the intolerableness of all earthly effort. (13:59–60)

Flying a red, white, and blue ensign from one of her trucks,[27] the *Acushnet* gained the open water, tossing the quick foam from her bows. She had embarked on her maiden voyage.[28] And for Herman Melville, the great floodgates of the wonder-world swung wide open.

CHAPTER 7
On Passage

It's now we're out to sea, my boys, the wind comes on to blow;
One half the watch is sick on deck, the other half below.

But as for the provisions, we don't get half enough;
A little piece of stinking beef and a blamed small bag of duff.
. . .
Next comes the running rigging, which you're all supposed to know;
'Tis "Lay aloft, you son-of-a-gun, or overboard you go!"

The cooper's at the vise-bench, a-making iron poles,
And the mate's upon the main hatch a-cursing all our souls.

—from "Blow, Ye Winds," whaling song

After the *Acushnet* was settled well upon her course, Herman Melville and his new shipmates were doubtless mustered aft, according to the custom aboard whalers, to be told off into two watches for the passage and divided into whaleboat crews.[1] The foremast hands lined up to one side, boatsteerers standing apart in a group, while mates of the craft made selections. First Officer Frederick Raymond, who with Third Mate George Galvan would command the larboard watch, and Second Mate John Hall, in charge of the starboard watch, would have alternately chosen men to serve under them.

Then, in order of their seniority, Mates Raymond, Hall, and Galvan, each of whom would "head" or command a whaleboat and lance to death the whales it chased, would have selected first the boatsteerers and then one by one the members of their crews. Mates usually appraised the men carefully, observing their hands and feet, feeling their muscles, and questioning them about previous experience before choices were made.

The complement of a boat's crew in American whalers was six men: a mate (or sometimes the captain) in command, a boatsteerer, and four foremast hands. Three crews were all that were selected at this stage of the *Acushnet*'s voyage, for the total of ship's company was twenty-five, and a vessel of this size required six or more men as shipkeepers to carry her through necessary

nautical evolutions when boats were lowered away.[2] It would seem that eighteen men were chosen to do the active whaling, leaving seven persons—that would be Captain Pease, Cooper Stedman, Blacksmith Walcut, Cook Maiden, and perhaps the three greenest hands—to be shipkeepers. Captain Pease was probably not, like Ahab of *Moby-Dick,* a "fighting captain" who lowered his starboard boat when whales were raised.

Once watches and boat crews had been chosen, it was customary for the master of a whaler to read the rules of the ship and treat the crew to a specimen of quarter-deck oratory, the length and flavor of which depended on how stern, garrulous, or salty the spokesman might be. Such speeches seem to have followed a pattern, familiar to seasoned whalemen, perhaps impressive or ominous to green hands. The captain, looking from man to man, warned that this was no pleasure cruise. The object was to kill whales, and the quicker the men found that out, the shorter would be the voyage. Laziness, fighting, and swearing would not be tolerated. When an order was given, the men were to respond promptly. If they did not jump, they would have reason to regret it. The captain would settle all disputes aboard ship. No grub was to be wasted, no unnecessary noise made while men were standing mastheads. Competition among boat crews was to be encouraged in a whale hunt, but anyone who attempted to gain unfair advantage would be severely punished. Then the captain affirmed his sovereignty aboard ship. If anyone doubted that he was master of the craft, that man would soon find out. This said, he ordered the men to go forward.

To Melville, who had passed his nautical novitiate in 1839 in the merchantman *St. Lawrence,* the fittings of a sailing ship, the routine of ship's duty, and the salty language of sailors would not have been as bewildering as they must have been to other green hands in the crew of the *Acushnet.* Like Ishmael in *Moby-Dick,* he "was used to the sea, could steer a ship, splice a rope, and all that" (16:75). Having previously gained his sea legs, he was entitled to a slightly better lay as a green hand. But his tour of duty in a Liverpool trader had neither prepared him fully for the experiences he was to have in a whaling ship even during passage nor acquainted him with many of the characteristic objects aboard her.

The look of a forecastle was familiar enough: two tiers of wooden bunks around three walls, sea chests of the men taking up most of the deck space, a smoky lamp, the only ventilation from the hatch above—a crowded and soon smelly place that Melville shared in the *Acushnet* with some fourteen shipmates. Since extant sketches of the ship do not represent her as having protective lookout hoops on her masts, men standing mastheads had only the flimsy support of topgallant crosstrees. But in many other respects the design

and equipment of a whaler were quite unlike those of a merchantman. After-deckhouses, bricked tryworks, a huge cluster of blocks and falls suspended from the maintop, whaleboats on heavy wooden davits, a removable gangway in the starboard bulwarks, and skids carrying overturned spare boats—these were aspects of a whaling ship that must have been unfamiliar to Melville.

On the main deck, instead of a single deckhouse forward as on merchant ships, there were two smaller deckhouses constructed at the stern on either side of the wheel and joined by a continuous roof that protected the helmsman in rugged weather. The house on the larboard side provided locker space for tools and gave entry to the companion stairs leading to Captain Pease's quarters. Cook Maiden's galley and a small locker for First Officer Raymond occupied the starboard deckhouse.

Directly in front of the wheel was a skylight that illuminated Captain Pease's cabin. And forward of the mizzenmast were the skids, which supported spare boats, harpoons, lances, oars, and other whaling craft and gear. On many contemporary whalers the skids were roofed over, sheltering a vegetable bin. A row of mess and deck buckets swung from the forward and after beams of the skids.

Forward of the main hatchway of the *Acushnet* was the tryworks. This bricked furnace where blubber would be rendered carried two huge iron kettles called trypots with separate fire grates beneath. To protect the deck from damage, a shallow insulating tank, filled with water when the tryworks was ablaze, was built below the grates. A light protective roof, similar to that of the skids, covered the furnaces. On the starboard side of the tryworks a huge copper cooling tank was secured.

Maximum free space had to be allowed amidships in order that great "blanket pieces" of blubber could be cut from the whale, hauled inboard, and lowered through the main hatchway into the blubber room. Just forward of the main rigging a considerable section of gangway in the starboard bulwarks was removable to make easier the taking in of blanket pieces. Lashrails, peculiar to whalers, were bolted fore and aft along the inside of the bulwarks; here casks and other objects could be secured. Heavy blocks and hooks and the stout rope falls that were suspended from the maintop, all used for hoisting the blanket pieces, hinted at the tremendous business in which the men of the *Acushnet* would soon participate.

Three whaleboats swung from davits on the larboard side, and one, possibly two, on the starboard side. They were known as the bow boat (the farthest forward on the larboard side, which would have been Mr. Galvan's), the waist boat (Mr. Hall's), and the larboard boat (Mr. Raymond's). Access to the captain's starboard boat and to Mr. Raymond's larboard boat, both of which

hung far aft, was from the roof of the after-deckhouses. Tubs, so heavy that they would sag or break the backs of whaleboats if left in them while the boats were suspended from the davits, were secured on racks abreast of the boats.

Except to inexperienced and seasick landlubbers in the crew, whose lot at first was one of confusion and perhaps of physical and spiritual misery, shipboard routine at the very beginning of a whaling voyage was neither overly demanding nor exhausting. Not that there was not plenty of work to be done. Duty was required alternately of the starboard and larboard watches for four hours at a time, one watch below in the forecastle to sleep or relax while the other was on deck carrying out the orders of the mate in command. Four bells tolled the end of the half-watch; eight bells denoted time for a change in personnel on deck. Dog-watches of two hours' duration during the period from 4 PM to 8 PM made it possible to reverse the sequence of duty each day. Accordingly, a watch was on duty fourteen hours one day and ten hours the next.

At sunrise members of the duty watch were sent aloft to loose sails. After the ship was scrubbed down, the men went to breakfast. During the day there were various chores to perform: sorting potatoes, making brooms, overhauling and rearranging the cargo twixt-decks in a more orderly fashion, checking gear, and carrying the ship through nautical evolutions. Qualified men took two-hour tricks at the helm, and boatsteerers and foremast hands went aloft to stand on the top-gallant crosstrees, hold precariously to the royal yards, and keep for two hours at a time, in chilly weather or mild, a bright lookout for whales. Green hands were given a dummy compass and ordered to learn its points (the 11 1/4° divisions of the compass, reciting which was known as "boxing the compass"), were instructed in the art of steering, and were required to acquaint themselves with the ship's rigging. After supper during the second dog-watch, there was, if the captain allowed it, a period of skylarking and relaxation on deck, of singing, dancing, and participation in the limited pleasures available to whalemen. Sail was shortened at dark, and the lookouts came down from the mastheads.

By the time that the *Acushnet* was well out to sea and had shaken somewhat the icy weather in which she sailed, preparations for whaling had been vigorously pushed ahead. As Blacksmith Walcut busied himself at a bench that was secured at the after-end of the tryworks, his hammer rang out over the deck. Green hands turned the grindstone as it gave an edge to harpoons, spades, lances, and boarding-knives. Cooper Stedman was employed at "raising," or setting up, stout oil casks. Oars, rigging, sails, craft, and gear for each boat were apportioned to the mates, or boatheaders. Carefully supervised by the mates, the boatsteerers began fitting their whaleboats, honing harpoons

and lances to razor sharpness, and coiling the long whaleline into the boat tubs.

Melville, participating in and observing this scene of activity, must have felt keen interest in these preliminaries to whaling. He must have noticed the evident pride of the three boatsteerers in their work and the infinite care with which they handled gear and craft. He may have assisted them as they fed the whaleline—some 225 fathoms in length—through overhead snatch blocks and coiled it "Flemish fashion" into the tubs.

A whaleman was first of all a boatman. During pleasant weather or calms it was customary to exercise green hands in the boats, acquainting them with the details of lowering, the commands, and the necessary maneuvers of the chase. Muscles had to be hardened and coordination mastered in these preludes to the intense exertion of a real whale hunt. The gear of the chase was put into the whaleboats.[3] Then the gripes, which held the boats, were cast off, and the falls, which lowered the boats, cleared. Down to the water went the boats with a mate and a boatsteerer in each one. Green hands were taught to tumble over the side into the boats, to assume their stations with dispatch, and to shove off. Once clear of the ship, the men of each boat's crew would take orders from the mate in command, who stood at the stern steering with an oar approximately 22 feet long.

The Yankee whaleboat, "the most perfect water craft that has ever floated,"[4] was sharp at both ends. She was from 25 to 30 feet in length, about six feet in beam at her widest point, and amidships some 26 inches deep. She was clinker built, which means the boards of her hull overlapped one another. Her planks were of white cedar and her timbers of white oak.

Men who pulled the five oars of a whaleboat were "staggered," sitting on the opposite side of the boat from their thole-pins. This arrangement gave balance to the very long oars, which varied, depending on their position in the boat, from 15 to 18 feet in length. The three oars which passed between the starboard thole-pins were called the harpooner oar, the midships oar, and the stroke, or after, oar. Two oars sweeping the water to larboard were known as the bow oar and tub oar. To keep noise at a minimum, thole-pins were covered with matting.

Green hands were taught the characteristic parts of a whaleboat: the "clumsy cleat" on the after side of the bow box, a padded notch against which the boatsteerer braced his forward leg when hurling his harpoon; the "loggerhead" at the stern, a stout upright post around which the line was run aft from the tub and then forward to the bow; the "chocks" in the bow, a channel through which the line would whiz when a whale was harpooned; and the "chockpin," a slender piece of wood which kept the whale line

from jumping out of the chocks. The green hands were drilled in the boats: "pull two, stern three," "pull three, stern two," or "stern all for your lives!" the officers sang out as green hands toiled at the long oars, laboriously advancing and backing their cedar whaleboats. Sometimes in the course of a drill they pulled for objects in the water, simulating a real chase. But if a school of porpoise was raised, or better still, if blackfish (pilot whales) breached, there was a hunt in miniature. Blackfish, averaging 15 to 20 feet in length, were well worth chasing; their head oil could be mixed with sperm oil, and no one back home would be the wiser. To green hands the harpooning of this species of small whale was an exciting undertaking. Even so minor a hunt could be charged with danger; during Melville's years as a whaleman, the mate of one ship was killed by a blackfish.[5]

The most critical instruction for the green hand was in the precise duties of each man in a whaleboat. Of the oarsmen, the boatsteerer, who pulled the harpoon oar, was the most responsible. Although wearied from this exertion, he was obliged, when the moment of attack on the whale came, to strike one or, if possible, two harpoons into the whale and then to make his way aft, change positions with the mate in command, and steer the boat; the mate then would use the lance to pierce to the life of the animal. The post of bow oarsman was one of honor.[6] He attended the boatheader, unsheathed the lances for him, and, according to the mate's orders, guided the line so as to bring the craft into an advantageous position for lancing. The strongest man of a boat's crew was the midships oarsman and he pulled the longest oar. When a whale sounded, it was the duty of the tub oarsman to throw water on the line lest friction should cause it to burn. Setting the stroke during the chase and coiling the line on to the stern-sheets, in the back of the boat, as the men hauled on to a harpooned whale were duties of the after oarsman.

No record, not even a passing notice in the newspapers or a brief mention in the logbook of a returning whaler, has been found to suggest what route the *Acushnet* took during the first sixty-nine days of her maiden voyage before she reached Rio de Janeiro. Whether she visited any of the Atlantic isles mentioned by Melville in his fiction—Pico in the Azores, for example, as one writer suggests[7]—we do not positively know. Although Melville's ship may have lain off and on a major harbor or touched briefly at a minor isle, it is reasonably clear that she did not come to anchor at any island port where there was an official representative of the United States.[8]

Logbooks and journals suggest that most of the whalers that sailed for the Pacific Ocean in the early 1840s followed with little variation the same track during the first part of their voyages, heading due east close to the 40th parallel to the Cape Verde Islands, where they sometimes revictualled at reasonable cost or even took on new hands. From this point on, the ship's

tracks varied considerably, bringing them fairly soon if they were lucky into an encounter with the object of their business.

A merchant ship sailing directly from New York to Rio de Janeiro in the 1840s made the run in approximately fifty-six days.[9] The *Acushnet* took sixty-nine days from Cuttyhunk, but not because she was a slow ship—her Cape Horn crossing shows she was a good sea-pacer. There had to be other reasons, which may have included several days spent whale hunting. One thing that is certain is that the *Acushnet* had met and taken whales before arriving in Rio de Janeiro, since Captain Pease was able to ship back 150 barrels from that port.

CHAPTER 8

There She Blows

And then we caught the whale-o,
The whale-o, the whale-o;
And then we caught the whale
With our quick harpoons.
The whale-o, the whale-o—
How quiet was his tail-o;
And then we caught the whale
With our quick harpoons.

—from a whaling song

If, with the exception of *Moby-Dick,* every account of the taking of whales and the cutting-in that turned them into barrels of oil was lost, we would still know a good deal about the essential action of the whale hunt. But there are multitudinous accounts, and the story of whaling is told again and again.

A typical sperm whale chase began when the lookouts aloft first saw a dense, white, vapory jet, shooting obliquely forward and upward to a height of twelve feet, expanding as it rose like a whiff of tobacco smoke, forming a fine contrast to the field of blue water below it. Fifteen seconds later another jet came and then another.

"There she blows! There! There! She blows! She blows!"

From the captain: "Where away is that whale? What do you call him?"

"It's a sperm," the lookout answered and gave bearing and distance. "There go flukes!"

The mainsail was hauled up and the mainyard braced around. Tubs went into the boats; the boatsteerers bent whale lines to their irons and fixed the weapons in harpoon crotches. The boats were hoisted and the cranes swung in. "Lower away!"

With a mate in the stern-sheets and a boatsteerer forward, each of the three boats, borne down on the falls, dropped to the water while sheaves whirled around in the blocks. Once the falls were unhooked and cleared, seamen and green hands scrambled goat-like down the rolling ship's side to the tossed boats below. They shoved off. In Stubb's boat in *Moby-Dick,* the men heard:

> Pull, pull, my fine hearts-alive; pull, my children; pull, my little ones. . . . Why don't you break your backbones, my boys? . . . So, so; there you are now; that's the stroke for a thousand pounds; that's the stroke to sweep the stakes! Hurrah for the gold cup of sperm oil, my heroes! Three cheers, men—all hearts alive! Easy, easy; don't be in a hurry—don't be in a hurry. Why don't you snap your oars, you rascals? Bite something, you dogs! So, so, so, then;—softly, softly! That's it—that's it! long and strong. Give way there, give way! The devil fetch ye, ye ragamuffin rapscallions; ye are all asleep. Stop snoring, ye sleepers, and pull. Pull, will ye? pull, can't ye? pull, won't ye? Why in the name of gudgeons and ginger-cakes don't ye pull?—pull and break something! pull, and start your eyes out! Here! . . . every mother's son of ye draw his knife, and pull with the blade between his teeth. That's it—that's it. Now ye do something; that looks like it, my steel-bits. Start her—start her, my silver-spoons! Start her, marling-spikes! (48:218–19)

A sperm whale with a full intake of air generally stayed under water for nearly an hour. The auspicious time to harpoon it was soon after its return to the surface, when its respirations were inadequate to allow it to sound and drag out great lengths of whaleline. After the boats assumed positions, the crew lay upon their oars, waiting for the whale's uprising. When at length the whale, winded from his stay below, returned to the surface, the crew scrambled to get the oars moving. A spirited race followed in which each boat vied for the honor of being first to fasten. Melville describes the feeling in the boats:

> Not the raw recruit, marching from the bosom of his wife into the fever heat of his first battle; not the dead man's ghost encountering the first unknown phantom in the other world;—neither of these can feel stranger and stronger emotions than that man does, who for the first time finds himself pulling into the charmed, churned circle of the hunted sperm whale. (*Moby-Dick,* 48:223–24)

When the lead boat reached the whale, the others stopped rowing and waited. "Stand up!" the mate shouted to the boatsteerer. When the boat was "within dart"—just a few feet from the whale—the rowers checked its progress. The mate called out, "There's his hump! Give it to him!" With both hands the boatsteerer grasped the first harpoon. Bending his body far backward, one thigh braced against the "clumsy cleat," he hurled the iron with all his might. It struck the whale and went chock to the hitches, the shank passing through blubber into the fleshy mass surrounding the bones of the great animal. Quickly the boatsteerer darted the second harpoon or, if he had not time, tossed it into the water.

"Stern all! Stern all for your lives!" cried the mate.

As the men frantically backed the boat and the boatsteerer threw overboard a protective coil of whale line fifteen fathoms in length, the wounded beast in surprise, pain, and rage rolled and wallowed mightily, throwing his flukes high into the air. Melville describes the moment:

> It's all a mist, a crash,—a horrible blending of sounds and sights, as the agonized whale lashes the water around him into suds and vapor . . . and at last rushes, madly, through the water towing after him the half-filled craft which rocks from side to side while the disordered crew, clutch at the gunwale to avoid being tossed out. Meanwhile all sorts of horrific edged tools—lances, harpoons and spades—are slipping about; and the imminent line itself—smoking round the logger-head and passsing along the entire length of the boat—is almost death to handle, though it grazes your person. ("Etchings," *Piazza Tales,* 209)[1]

Amidst such dangers the boatsteerer and the mate exchanged places, a traditional practice to which Melville objected; in Chapter 62 of *Moby-Dick* he argues that the mate of a whaleboat should dart both the harpoon and the lance.

Most often the whale sounded, or dived, at this point, carrying with it fathom upon fathom of line as it sought, in the chill depths of the water, to escape from its assailants and to work free from the painful barb in its back. As yet it had been merely fastened, not mortally wounded;[2] the death duel could not begin until it returned to the surface and became sufficiently exhausted for the whalemen once more to draw nigh it.

After a time the stricken beast, again in need of air, exasperated and enraged, shot upward from the water. It thrashed about vengefully. But at length, spent from frantic exertion and pain, it slowed, and the line slackened.

"Haul me on to that whale!" was the mate's typical cry. Hand-over-hand the men brought in the line and coiled it in the tub as they pulled slowly towards their prey. Once alongside, the mate in the bow of the boat seized his long, razor-sharp, spoon-billed lance. He thrust it again and again into the whale, churning it about in his efforts to cut through the animal's lungs and reach the blood vessels underneath called the "life" of the whale. The whale's tortured response to each cruel lancing put the lives of the six whalemen in hazard at every moment.

Finally, all the spearings of the crimson fight were done; the mate cried, "There! His chimney is on fire!" The boat would back hastily away. From the whale's spiracle came a surge of thick-clotted blood, dyeing the waters for yards around it. From its mouth came vomit. It went into its death flurry, swimming wildly in a narrowing circle. Then it shuddered, and its lower jaw fell. It turned fin out and lay quite still.

The fight—the first of the four phases of the business of whaling—was won. There yet remained two to three days of gruelling and unremitting toil during which the ship was transformed into a primitive abattoir and refinery while her laborers accomplished the tasks of cutting in, trying out, and stowing down.

Bringing the massive prize to the ship could prove exceedingly wearisome. If the ship were to windward, she could make sail and run down to the dead whale. If not, the crew spent several exhausting hours in towing to the craft a weight of 40 to 60 or more tons. A whaleboat crew averaged only one mile an hour when towing a whale. Once the whale came alongside, the task of securing it tail-forward for cutting required skill and patience. One end of a strong line with a float at the outer end and a sinker in the middle was fixed to the ship. By careful manipulation the float was made to rise on the far side of the whale.[3] A heavy fluke chain followed the line and was worked around the small of the whale's after-body, and by this chain the whale was made fast to a bitt at the heel of the bowsprit.[4]

After the boats were swung up on the davits, preparations began for the laborious process of dissecting the mammoth carcass, a task which, for a large sperm whale, required most of the day to complete. Boarding knives, mincing knives, and cutting spades were broken out. Two great blocks, part of the cutting tackle, were swayed up to the maintop and lashed to the lower masthead, and a stout fall of heavy manila rope was rove through each of them and carried forward to the windlass. A section of the starboard bulwarks was removed to create a gangway, or opening. At each end of the opening, a cutting stage—a narrow plank platform upon which the men stood—was suspended over the whale's body.

The captain and two of the mates, bearing their twelve-foot-long, keen-edged cutting spades, with ropes around their chests to steady them, leaned over the whale carcass and made first an incision just aft of the eye and above the nearest of the side fins. Here they jabbed a hole for insertion of the blubber hook. Then slicing deeply, they cut a semicircular scarf around and above the hole. Meanwhile a deluge of blood, covering parts of the carcass and discoloring the water, made more difficult the necessary precision of their work.

The men brought to the gangway a 100-pound blubber hook that was shackled to the immense traveling block of the cutting tackle. "Hook overboard," the captain ordered. The boatsteerer who had fastened to the whale then appeared, wearing heavy woollen stockings and having around his waist a canvas band to which was attached a long, light, protective "monkey rope." Leaping over the side on to the heaving, slippery, nearly submerged body of the animal, he braced his feet firmly into cuts made in the carcass and

reached aloft to receive the hook and traveling block as they were lowered. His duty was most hazardous and unpleasant, sufficiently so to give pause to the ambitions of onlooking green hands who fancied rising to officer status in the fishery. On deck a whaleman, around whose body the other end of the monkey rope was fixed, attentively watched the boatsteerer who was overboard, alert to pull him out of the way of danger. It was drowning work atop a whale's carcass when the sea was rough. There was always the chance of slipping and being crushed against the ship by the dead animal, of being struck by the heavy and unwieldy hook, or of being torn by the hungry sharks who were uninvited participants at these bloody doings.

As the cutting tackle came down, the boatsteerer grasped a rope that hung from the back of the hook and hauled the heavy weight towards him. Then, fumbling in gore, he fixed the hook at length in the hacked-out orifice. Officers on the cutting stage sliced once more into the whale, carrying the scarf diagonally along each side of the hole so as to free a strip of blubber some six feet in width. "Haul taut and heave away," the captain said, and the men at the windlass strained at their handspikes. Under the whale's weight the ship careened over to starboard, nodding her masts to the sky and leaning nearer and nearer to the water. The hook bit into blubber, the officers undercut to free the flap, and the men with great shouts heaved vigorously away. Presently, with a startling snap, a huge strip of blubber broke loose from the flesh. The ship rolled upward as the triumphant tackle hoisted aloft a blanket piece. With a strain kept at the windlass and the officers continuing their spiralizing incisions, the blubber was uniformly stripped away, much as the peel from an orange, and the whale rolled slowly over and over while the cutting tackle swayed up the prodigious, blood-dripping mass. At length the blanket piece was hauled "block and block" to the maintop, high above the deck.

"Board blanket piece," was the command. On deck one of the boatsteerers, armed with a boarding knife, a sharp double-edged sword set in a three-foot-long wooden handle, lunged at the lower part of the strip of blubber. Dextrously he sliced out an oval hole for the second tackle. When a hook or the eye of a long strop was secured in the lower hole, and the second tackle had taken the strain, the swordsman, warning all hands to stand off, completely severed the upper portion of the blanket piece. To cries of "Board-ho!" the ponderous strip of blubber, about 20 feet long, six feet wide, some nine inches thick, and weighing upwards of a ton, swung inboard and was lowered down the main hatchway into the blubber room. Then the heavers at the windlass strained on a second tackle, hoisting up a new blanket piece. So the work went, two tackles employed alternately, one raising, one lowering, until the whale's blubber was peeled in one continuous strip from just aft of his eye to the small of his tail. In the blubber room a boatsteerer and his as-

sistants coiled away the blanket pieces as they were lowered, later chopping them into smaller hunks from two to four feet long and about eight inches wide called "horse pieces."

While the whale was being rolled, and before the first blanket piece was sundered and hauled in, the captain and a mate began the delicate and difficult business of amputating the head, the most valuable part of the beast. This operation required great skill, for a sperm whale has nothing that might properly be described as a neck. To reach the point where vertebra and head were joined, the officers, probing a mass almost concealed by a discolored and rolling sea, had to cut through coarse-fibered muscles, tendons as thick as ropes, and monstrous blood vessels large enough to contain a small child.[5] Within the huge battering ram of the head was a reservoir of hundreds of gallons of spermaceti and liquid case oil.[6] One careless, untimely stroke might invade this sanctuary and wastingly let out its valuable contents.

Whale surgeons unhinged the long, narrow lower jaw, a boatsteerer fixed around it a chain strap and sliced away with bone-spade, and the crew, straining on the second cutting tackle, wrenched it free and hoisted it aboard. The forty to fifty large, glistening teeth of the lower jaw, although of no commercial value at home, could be used very advantageously in trade with natives and furnished to whalemen a plentiful supply of raw materials for "scrimshawing," the art work of their idle hours.

After cutting a hole through the snout and reeving through it a heavy chain, the captain and mate continued the decapitation. They pierced tough coatings of integument and hacked at the vertebrae, as great in diameter as a barrel. As the work progressed, the officers called again and again for sharp spades, keeping the hand at the spinning grindstone busy. The head was finally severed and was floated nose-down astern, where it was secured to the main channels by a rope passing inboard and fastened to the midships bitts. The mate then turned to scarfing the body and the men at the windlass to stripping it of blubber. When the last blanket piece was peeled off and stored away, the mates disjointed the whale's backbone near the tail, freeing it of the fluke chains. The great bloody carcass drifted slowly to windward, a gift to the ravenous sharks and sea birds.

Now the head was hauled alongside the gangway to be divided into two almost equal triangular sections: the "case," the upper part of the forehead containing a deep tubular cavity filled with spermaceti and case oil, and the "junk," a wedge-shaped bloodless mass between the case and skull bone that was composed of spongy flesh, tough white tendons, and an immense honeycomb of cells of oil. After the whale surgeons hacked it free, the junk was hoisted aboard. This was the pull of the day, requiring the support of both cutting tackles and the combined efforts of nearly every member of the crew.

Melville and his shipmates at the windlass, their muscles aching, their hands blistered from pulling oars in the whale hunt and set on fire by the friction of the handspikes, must have felt relieved when this monstrous piece of flesh was lowered safely on deck. The junk was secured to a lashrail aft, later to be cut down to size for rendering in the trypots.

Unless a whale was small enough for his case to be hauled aboard, the work of robbing it of barrel on barrel of liquid spermaceti and case oil had to be accomplished from the ship's side.[7] At the gangway the case was secured in an upright position and hove partially out of the water so that salt spray might not defile the precious oil as it was bailed. One of the boatsteerers mounted the case and, plying a short-handled spade, perforated the great ventricle of the head. Then his assistants lowered a stout, iron-bound bucket that dangled from the end of a fall that was rove through a single-sheaved block lashed to the mainyard directly overhead. With a long pole the boatsteerer forced the bucket out of sight into the cavity of oil, pushing it through tender membranous filaments that opposed its way. The men hoisted it up, "all bubbling like a dairy-maid's pail of new milk" (*Moby-Dick,* 78:342), and poured it into containers on deck. Thus the case was bailed again and again, the boatsteerer ramming his bucket harder and deeper until the cistern at length would yield no more. Trypots and large tubs were brimming with 15 to 25 barrels of this superior oil of slightly rosy tint, looking like soft ice cream or white butter partly churned. As the ship rolled to leeward, the now worthless case was freed of its lashings and, with a plunging splash, disappeared into the sea.

Their work at the windlass completed, the seamen were ordered to new stations. Two of them were told off as blubber-room men and sent to a twilight apartment between decks. There they removed adhering strips of red flesh from the body blubber or with gaffs attempted to hold in place the slippery, ponderous blanket pieces while experienced spade men sliced off horse pieces, chunks small enough to be sent to the deck above. In performing this messy, unpleasant, and often dangerous duty, the men were frequently thrown against blubber running with oil and were quickly soaked to the skin. Some of the seamen joined in the work of chopping up the junk. As they cut through fibrous flesh and slit open the honeycomb of cells, clear sweet oil poured forth on the deck in such quantities that the scuppers had to be plugged lest the precious fluid waste overboard. Other seamen assisted at the mincing block where horse pieces were prepared for the trypots. With keen, two-handled mincing knives they thinly sliced the portable oblongs of blubber, never entirely cutting through a horse piece. The finished product of their endeavor, many slices of blubber adhering to one single, binding strip, was called "bible leaves" by whalemen. A few fortunate seamen were detailed to the trypots and tubs holding spermaceti and case oil recently bailed from the case. Some

of them squeezed lumps from the oil that had concreted as it cooled into a wax-like substance; others climbed barefooted into the trypots and fished out silky integuments that would discolor the fine oil if heated with it. Theirs was sweet and unctuous duty, the bland, wonderfully mollifying liquid in which they worked making them forget for a time sore muscles and blistered hands.[8] "No king of earth, even Solomon in all his glory, could command such a bath," wrote one whaleman. "I almost fell in love with the touch of my own poor legs, as I stroked the precious ointment from the skin."[9]

With hardly a moment's surcease the hard, dirty, discomfiting toil continued at a speed that would have been unbearable if long sustained. The men worked watch-and-watch: six hours of violent labor, six inadequate hours during which to rest and eat meals.[10] Only at the command, "All hands aft to splice the main brace!" (break out the grog) was there a brief, invigorating pause for the workmen.

When the men had reduced the junk into many oily pieces small enough for rendering, had squeezed lumps from the spermaceti and case oil, and had brought on deck stout wooden casks, boatsteerers removed the hatch from the tryworks and made fires in the furnaces below the trypots. For a while wood and shavings from the carpenter's bench were used for fuel; later crisp, shriveled fritters of blubber called "cracklings" were fed to the flames. First the head matter—those parts of the head of a sperm whale from which oil could be extracted[11]—was tried-out. The case oil, though already in a liquid state, had to be heated carefully to prevent its becoming rancid. Every effort was made to keep it as pure as possible, for in time it would be pressed into the finest of candles. A rich yield of oil, in weight about one third that of the entire mass, came from the junk as its minced horse pieces melted in the trypots. After the head matter was boiled, decanted with long-handled dippers into the huge cooling tank, transferred to casks, and coopered, the less valuable blubber was tried-out. As thick, acrid smoke from twin chimneys of the tryworks blackened the sails and rigging of the ship, men scurried about the greasy deck, heaping minced blubber into the hopper, and with scoops and mops salvaged everything that could be boiled advantageously in the pots.

Darkness fell, and the craft, her furnaces aflame, became weirdly and luridly transformed. Such a fearful, hellish scene as Melville first beheld from the deck of the *Acushnet* in an early month of 1841 is vividly described in *Moby-Dick:*

> By midnight the works were in full operation. We were clear from the carcase [*sic*]; sail had been made; the wind was freshening; the wild ocean darkness was intense. But that darkness was licked up by the fierce flames, which at intervals forked forth from the sooty flues, and illuminated every

> lofty rope in the rigging, as with the famed Greek fire. The burning ship drove on, as if remorselessly commissioned to some vengeful deed. . . .
>
> The hatch, removed from the top of the works, now afforded a wide hearth in front of them. Standing on this were the Tartarean shapes of the pagan harpooneers, always the whale-ship's stokers. With huge pronged poles they pitched hissing masses of blubber into the scalding pots, or stirred up the fires beneath, till the snaky flames darted, curling, out of the doors to catch them by the feet. The smoke rolled away in sullen heaps. To every pitch of the ship there was a pitch of the boiling oil, which seemed all eagerness to leap into their faces. Opposite the mouth of the works, on the further side of the wide wooden hearth, was the windlass. This served for a sea-sofa. Here lounged the watch, when not otherwise employed, looking into the red heat of the fire, till their eyes felt scorched in their heads. Their tawny features, now all begrimed with smoke and sweat, their matted beards, and the contrasting barbaric brilliancy of their teeth, all these were strangely revealed in the capricious emblazonings of the works. (96:422–23)

Watch relieved watch while the toil went on. As the ship rolled on a darkened sea, men struggled to move unwieldy six-barrel casks across the slippery deck and secure them to the lashrails. (Six barrels at 31 1/2 gallons per barrel equalled 189 gallons.)

When the last cask was stowed down and the hatches hermetically closed, the crew turned to the final task of changing the ship from a floating butchery and furnace into a sailing craft, shipshape and clean. They scrubbed the hatch and put it in place atop the tryworks. They brushed soot from the lower rigging. With buckets, brooms, rags, shovels, and a lye made from burned scraps of the whale, they removed from the deck and bulwarks all evidence of "gurry" (the slime, oil, blackskin, etc., that encumbers the deck while cutting-in),[12] blood, and blubber. And when the work was done and the ship gleamed, they bathed and changed their clothes and laughed again, pleased at a voyage so auspiciously begun and happy in relaxation so laboriously gained.

Before long, however, they heard the masthead standers once more cry out. Then the whole frantic, dangerous, wearisome business began again. Everything known about the *Acushnet* makes the above typical account theirs. When did the *Acushnet* first play out the chase and rendering described? There is no record of that, but it had to have come fairly early in its southward progress in the Atlantic, for a little more than two months out from home the men of the *Acushnet* had killed enough whales to stow down 150 barrels of sperm oil. On average one whale would furnish 40 to 60 barrels.

CHAPTER 9

Rio, the Horn, and the In-Shore Ground

When we arrived in Rio we lay there quite a while,
A-fixing up our rigging and bending our new sails.
From ship to ship they cheered us as we did sail along,
And they wished us pleasant weather while rounding of Cape Horn.
—from "The Girls Around Cape Horn," forecastle song

On her seventieth day out, Saturday, March 13, 1841, the *Acushnet* passed between bold and precipitous barriers flanking the narrow entrance to the Bay of Botafoga. She worked her way into the beautiful sheet of water that fills an oval basin 30 miles long and 15 miles wide and came to anchor in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. This may have been her first port since leaving Fairhaven.[1]

In the harbor the *Acushnet* found another American whaler, the *Henry* of Stonington, Captain G. Pendleton, a far from lucky ship. It had put into port in distress five days before with a cargo valued at $1,000; it was condemned and sold. Also in port were eight American merchant vessels, one of which, the brig *Tweed* of Baltimore, Captain John Roberts, was going to do business with the *Acushnet*.[2] Captain Roberts and Captain Pease made an agreement that the *Tweed,* which was loading a $75,000 cargo of coffee, should also transport back the 150 barrels of sperm oil taken to date by the *Acushnet*.[3]

If there was any liberty in town for the crew, it must have been brief and unsatisfactory; sightseeing of picturesque Rio was done from the deck. At least one boat crew must have gone ashore, for Captain Pease was rowed in so that he could announce his arrival to United States Consul George W. Slacum, deposit his ship's papers and a copy of his roll of equipage and registry,[4] and carry out other business customary in a foreign port. There is no way of knowing if Melville was part of that boat crew or of any other that went ashore; we do know that in *Omoo* he speaks of "an old man-of-war's-man, whose acquaintance I had made in Rio de Janeiro, at which place touched the ship in which I sailed from home" (1:6). If Melville did not get ashore, he must have chafed at not being able to explore the city as he had explored Liverpool in 1839 when the *St. Lawrence* was unloading cargo.

How the *Acushnet*'s men reacted to the trans-shipping of their sperm oil is not known. Trans-shipping was common practice in the whale fishery and not always accepted with equanimity by crews. Some of the *Acushnet*'s people may have been apprehensive that such an arrangement portended an interminable voyage, one in which a take of oil was no sooner stowed down than it was shipped home in another vessel. Instead of filling their ship and returning home with it in a reasonable amount of time, the crew may have imagined themselves, in the most absurd scenario, spending the rest of their lives at sea and never filling the ship but sending home over and over again the makings of a whopping profit for the ship's owners. In 1843 the crew of the whaler *York* of Edgartown, commanded by another Captain Pease, took exception when 500 barrels of oil were transferred to a homeward-bound craft; they insisted that they be discharged from the *York* or that the oil, which they felt rightly belonged to them, be returned aboard.[5]

Captain Valentine Pease's pleasure in the luck of the voyage and his optimism in sending home the oil taken would have been considerably altered if he had known that the price of sperm oil, which had been $1.05 per gallon when he sailed, would drop to as low as 80 cents before the *Tweed* reached the United States.[6]

On Monday, March 15, the *Acushnet* was "cleared for Whaling Voyage,"[7] for a Cape Horn passage, and for nearly four years of cruising the waters of the Pacific Ocean. A week later the *Acushnet* was 480 nautical miles south and slightly to the west of Rio de Janeiro, approximately 240 miles due east of Lagoda dos Patos, and 200 miles southeast of Cape St. Martha Grande.[8] During the last week of March the weather had become menacing: the ship's log recorded: "rugged," "squally," "Latter [part of the nautical day—4 AM to noon] heavy squall," and "Bad sea."[9]

Sperm whales were raised on Saturday, April 3, the latter part of which was squally. Although the noon positions of the ship for the following three days are so close together as to suggest that boats might have been lowered, it is unlikely that the crew did so in the face of the hazards of a chase in seas so rough. A fresh wind began blowing in the afternoon, keeping the men fully occupied working the ship aloft and alow.

The ship was nearing dangerous latitudes where caution was the watchword. On April 5 a heavy gale blew from the south-southwest attended by a hail squall. The barometer fell below 29.50 and during the next three days (on two of which the reading was 28.50) there were heavy squalls of rain.[10]

Following the practice of able navigators who knew that the quickest Cape Horn passages were achieved by making maximum westing while on the Atlantic side of the tip of South America,[11] Captain Pease on April 8

ordered the course of the *Acushnet* to be shaped so that she would pass between the Falkland Islands and the southern coast of Patagonia. During the afternoon and night of Tuesday, April 13, the ship sailed 100 miles to the west of Weddell Island in the Falkland Group, and the next day at noon she stood 150 miles due east of Cape Virgins and the Atlantic Straits of Magellan.

The visibility was hazy on Thursday, April 15, when, one month out from Rio, the crew "saw Staten Land bear[in]g S.—dist. 2 leagues."[12] Melville's recollections of this bleak island off the tip of Tierra del Fuego are vividly recorded (although, perhaps for dramatic purposes, he made the day a clear one):

> The land near Cape Horn . . . is well worth seeing, especially Staten Land. Upon one occasion, the ship in which I then happened to be sailing drew near this place from the northward, with a fair, free wind, blowing steadily, through a bright translucent day, whose air was almost musical with the clear, glittering cold. On our starboard beam, like a pile of glaciers in Switzerland, lay this Staten Land, gleaming in snow-white barrenness and solitude. Unnumbered white albatross were skimming the sea near by, and clouds of smaller white wings fell through the air like snow-flakes. High, towering in their own turbaned snows, the far-inland pinnacles loomed up, like the border of some other world. Flashing walls and crystal battlements, like the diamond watch-towers along heaven's furthest frontier. (*White-Jacket,* 28:116)

During that afternoon the *Acushnet* began a relatively brief but wet, squally, and chilling period of sailing directly off the pitch of Cape Horn. She made a good 90 miles to the south and west by noon of the following day and 120 miles of westing during the next. On Friday evening, April 16, the boisterous world-corner itself was less than 30 miles away, broad on the starboard beam, and by the following noon the safety of the ship from dangerous shoals could be checked with a bearing on the island of Diego Ramirez, to the north-northeast, distant three leagues.[13]

At noon on Sunday, April 18, Captain Pease must have thought it the better part of valor for the craft to stand to the south until a safer parallel of latitude could be reached. The following day, with a heavy gale blowing through the first part, the ship steered to the south and west. Her meridian latitude on Tuesday, April 20, was 58°10' south, as near to the South Pole as Melville would sail while serving on a whaler.

The *Acushnet* had now emerged upon the great South Sea, and perhaps for Melville as for Ishmael of *Moby-Dick* the long supplication of his youth was answered. Melville wrote in *Moby-Dick:*

> There is, one knows not what sweet mystery about this sea, whose gently awful stirrings seem to speak of some hidden soul beneath; like those fabled undulations of the Ephesian sod over the buried Evangelist St. John. And meet it is, that over these sea-pastures, wide-rolling watery prairies and Potters' Fields of all four continents, the waves should rise and fall, and ebb and flow unceasingly; for here, millions of mixed shades and shadows, drowned dreams, somnambulisms, reveries; all that we call lives and souls, lie dreaming, dreaming, still; tossing like slumberers in their beds; the ever-rolling waves but made so by their restlessness.
>
> To any meditative Magian rover, this serene Pacific, once beheld, must ever after be the sea of his adoption. It rolls the midmost waters of the world, the Indian ocean and Atlantic being but its arms. The same waves wash the moles of the new-built Californian towns, but yesterday planted by the recentest race of men, and lave the faded but still gorgeous skirts of Asiatic lands, older than Abraham; while all between float milky-ways of coral isles, and low-lying, endless, unknown Archipelagoes, and impenetrable Japans. Thus this mysterious, divine Pacific zones the world's whole bulk about; makes all coasts one bay to it; seems the tide-beating heart of earth. Lifted by those eternal swells, you needs must own the seductive god, bowing your head to Pan. (111:482–83)

Reaching the 79th meridian of west longitude on April 23, the *Acushnet* hauled to the north, and three days later the Strait of Magellan on the Pacific side stood 135 miles away on the starboard beam. The passage from strait to strait had required only twelve days, a relatively brief period of beating around the Horn.[14] Her speed in making the crossing bespeaks the excellent sailing qualities of the *Acushnet* and suggests that she was probably capable of giving a good race to contemporary clipper ships. (Young Thomas Melville, master of the clipper ship *Meteor* of Boston, was fifteen days off the Horn in heavy weather in 1859. In 1860, when Herman Melville was aboard, the *Meteor* took fifteen days to go from 50° south on one side of the Horn to 50° south on the other.)[15]

Compared to the tortuous passage made in the previous year by the barque *Columbus* of New Bedford, commanded by Captain Tristram Daggett Pease, brother of Melville's skipper, the crossing of the *Acushnet* was indeed a fast one. The *Columbus* required thirty-seven days (August 30–October 5, 1840) to round the Horn. One of that barque's officers, despairing of ever making adequate westing, gloomily commented in his journal on September 4: "so ends Snow Snow Snow" and on September 17: "Strong double Reef Breezes from W squally weather head wind for EVER . . ."[16]

The fictional whaler *Dolly* in *Typee* had a rougher passage around the Horn, but for a special reason: the captain had saddled the vessel with the Ancient Mariner's curse.

> [Captain Vangs] was a most insatiable sportsman. Outward bound, and off the pitch of Cape Horn, he used to sit on the taffrail, and keep the steward loading three or four old fowling-pieces, with which he would bring down albatrosses, Cape pigeons, jays, petrels, and divers other marine fowl, who followed chattering in our wake. The sailors were struck aghast at his impiety, and one and all attributed our forty days' beating about that horrid headland to his sacrilegious slaughter of these inoffensive birds. (30:223)

Captain Pease would have been soaked if he had tried this kind of hunting, for "thick and rainy weather" prevailed every day of the twelve-day passage.

The passage was brief, but the demands of nautical routine in the wet, chilling, and gusty weather must have constituted for the men of the *Acushnet* an exhausting, if not a terrifying, experience. For all the dangerous duties of an inexperienced sailor that Melville as a green hand had to perform on the *St. Lawrence,* he had nonetheless been detailed to handling only the light sails; in reefing he had safely lain "in toward the slings of the yard,"[17] and had taken a trick at the helm only when winds were light. Another green hand who had rounded the Cape in 1840 recalled

> during our stay off the capes, with cold, hail storms and rain, there were no stoves on board the vessel to warm either cabin or forecastle, and many times when all hands were called to take in or make more sail many of the crew and I have been aloft in our stocking feet, being unable to get on our wet boots.[18]

Remembering the *Acushnet*'s rounding of the Cape and his later rounding of it in the frigate *United States* in 1844, Melville writes:

> Impracticable Cape! You may approach it from this direction or that—in any way you please—from the East, or from the West; with the wind astern, or abeam, or on the quarter; and still Cape Horn is Cape Horn. Cape Horn it is that takes the conceit out of fresh-water sailors, and steeps in a still salter brine the saltest. Woe betide the tyro; the foolhardy, Heaven preserve! . . .
>
> Familiarity with danger makes a brave man braver, but less daring. Thus with seamen: he who goes the oftenest round Cape Horn goes the most circumspectly. A veteran mariner is never deceived by the treacherous breezes which sometimes waft him pleasantly toward the latitude of the Cape. No sooner does he come within a certain distance of it—previously fixed in his own mind—than all hands are turned to setting the ship in storm-trim; and, never mind how light the breeze, down come his t'-gallant-yards. He "bends" his strongest storm-sails, and lashes every thing on deck securely. The ship is then ready for the worst; and if, in reeling round the headland,

> she receives a broadside, it generally goes well with her. If ill, all hands go to the bottom with quiet consciences. (*White-Jacket,* 24:96–98)

The chances are fair that, after doubling the Cape and standing to the northward, the *Acushnet* spoke one of the trimmest whalers sailing the South Seas, the English barque that Melville committed to literary immortality by making her one of the nine vessels encountered by the *Pequod* of *Moby-Dick.*[19] She was the *Samuel Enderby* of London, some ten months out from home port in late April 1841, and her master was Captain Wilson, not the Captain Boomer of *Moby-Dick* who had lost an arm to the white whale and had had shipped in its stead an ivory one with a club hammer at its end.[20]

In *Moby-Dick* Ishmael describes a visit aboard the *Samuel Enderby* that occurred "long, very long after old Ahab touched her planks with his ivory heel" (101:444). From available evidence it is not possible to know if this had a basis in fact.[21] It is clear, however, that Melville took as much romantic freedom with the *Samuel Enderby* in *Moby-Dick* as he did with other actual vessels that the reader meets in his novels:

> [The *Samuel Enderby* was] a very fast sailer and a noble craft every way. I boarded her once at midnight somewhere off the Patagonian coast, and drank good flip down in the forecastle. It was a fine gam we had, and they were all trumps—every soul on board. A short life to them, and a jolly death. And that fine gam I had . . . it minds me of the noble, solid, Saxon hospitality of that ship; and may my parson forget me, and the devil remember me, if I ever lose sight of it. Flip? Did I say we had flip? Yes, and we flipped it at the rate of ten gallons the hour; and when the squall came (for it's squally off there by Patagonia), and all hands—visitors and all—were called to reef topsails, we were so top-heavy that we had to swing each other aloft in bowlines; and we ignorantly furled the skirts of our jackets into the sails, so that we hung there, reefed fast in the howling gale, a warning example to all drunken tars. However, the masts did not go overboard; and by and bye we scrambled down, so sober, that we had to pass the flip again, though the savage salt spray bursting down the forecastle scuttle, rather too much diluted and pickled it to my taste.
>
> The beef was fine—tough, but with body in it. They said it was bull-beef; others, that it was dromedary beef; but I do not know, for certain, how that was. They had dumplings too; small, but substantial, symmetrically globular, and indestructible dumplings. I fancied that you could feel them, and roll them about in you after they were swallowed. If you stooped over too far forward, you risked their pitching out of you like billiard-balls. The bread—but that couldn't be helped; besides, it was an anti-scorbutic; in short, the bread contained the only fresh fare they had. But the forecastle was not very light, and it was very easy to step over into a dark corner when

> you ate it. But all in all, taking her from truck to helm, considering the dimensions of the cook's boilers, including his own live parchment boilers; fore and aft, I say, the Samuel Enderby was a jolly ship; of good fare and plenty; fine flip and strong; crack fellows all, and capital from boot heels to hat-band. (101:444–45)

If the *Samuel Enderby* were actually encountered somewhere off the Patagonian coast, it was possibly during Wednesday or Thursday, April 28 or 29. No whales were sighted on those days, and the weather, though thick and squally, probably was not entirely responsible for the *Acushnet*'s making good only 10 miles in twenty-four hours, and that to the east instead of the north. On Friday, April 30, the *Acushnet* dropped down 55 miles to the south, but after May 1 her course was again to the north, close to the 79th meridian of west longitude, as she ran down the coast of Chile at an average speed of 133 nautical miles a day toward the island of Mas Afuera. (In South America "down" the coast is north, "up" the coast is south.)

An old whaling song, "The Coast of Peru," celebrated—fairly prophetically—the situation of the *Acushnet* at this point:

> Come all ye young tars who are cruising for sperm,
> Come all ye jolly seamen who have rounded Cape Horn,
> For our captain has told us, and we hope he says true,
> That there's plenty of sperm whales on the coast of Peru![22]

During the afternoon and evening of Thursday, May 6, 1841, with the weather pleasant and light winds blowing from southeast, the men of the *Acushnet* dimly sighted on the ocean horizon the peak of Los Innocentes, rising 6,562 feet on the southern part of the island of Mas Afuera.[23] At noon on the following day the island bore west-northwest, distant some 25 miles,[24] and by early afternoon when the land could be clearly seen, less than ten miles away, the "high, wide and cloven" coast and the three buildings of the old penal colony in the deep ravine of Rada de la Casa Quebrada came into view.[25] This was the first of two or possibly three times that Melville saw Mas Afuera while he was sailing the South Seas.[26] Describing the island as having "a very imposing aspect at a distance of eight or ten miles," he writes:

> Approached in one direction, in cloudy weather, its great overhanging height and rugged contour, and more especially a peculiar slope of its broad summits, give it much the air of a vast iceberg drifting in tremendous poise. Its sides are split with dark cavernous recesses, as an old cathedral with its gloomy lateral chapels. Drawing nigh one of these gorges from the sea after a long voyage, and beholding some tatterdemallion outlaw, staff in hand, de-

> scending its steep rocks toward you, conveys a very queer emotion to a lover of the picturesque. ("The Encantadas: Sketch Fourth," *Piazza Tales,* 138)

In the same account in "The Encantadas" Melville states that he once fished near the grim cliffs of Mas Afuera; this may have been the occasion.

At two o'clock on Saturday afternoon, May 8, the *Acushnet* raised the blue and white pennant of another Fairhaven whaler cruising in waters near the island. She was the *William Wirt,* Captain Isaac Daggett, the same craft that Melville's cousin Hunn Gansevoort had seen in distress at Port Refuge some six years before. On that occasion the *William Wirt* "hoisted her Colours half mast Union down," and her crew was in a state of mutiny.[27] The *William Wirt* had already been thirty-four months at sea during her current voyage, cruising part of the time in the Indian Ocean,[28] and her men must have welcomed this opportunity to hear news from a whaler so recently out from home. Captain Pease, announcing that his ship had stowed down 160 barrels of sperm oil,[29] had questions to ask concerning the luck of the *William Wirt* and where the whales had been found most plentiful.

During a day's run of some 95 miles to the north, sailing for five hours in company with the *William Wirt,* the *Acushnet* reached the In-Shore Ground, or, as it was sometimes known, the On-Shore Ground.[30] On Sunday, May 9, a day, according to the abstract log, of "Fine Pleasant Weather," with light and moderate winds from south-southeast, sperm whales appeared near the ship for the first time since it had entered the South Seas. The boats were lowered, but how successful the men were is unfortunately not ascertainable, for the abstract log of the ship includes no record of whales killed.[31] The fact that noon positions of the *Acushnet* for the next two days were very close to that of May 9 suggests that there was another wearisome round of cutting in and trying-out.

Whales were not seen again for sixteen days as the ship continued her cruise to the north. With the exception of cloudiness during four days and a squall on Wednesday, May 12, weather remained uniformly agreeable for almost a month.

The volcanically formed and almost entirely barren island of San Felix bore southwest, one and a half leagues away, on Monday morning, May 17, and by noon the crew could see, approximately 8 miles to the southwest, San Ambrose Island, described by Melville as being composed of "lofty, inhospitable, and uninhabitable rocks, one of which, presenting two round hummocks connected by a low reef, exactly resembles a huge double-headed shot" ("The Encantadas: Sketch Fourth," *Piazza Tales,* 138).

During the next four days, with favorable winds blowing from the southeast, the *Acushnet* steered to the north and east, shaping her course towards

Peru and making good an average of 165 nautical miles a day. Her run between noons of Tuesday and Wednesday, May 18 and 19, was 195 nautical miles, which was fast sailing for a whaler.[32] Average speed for twenty-four hours was slightly better than eight knots, but in view of the fact that it was customary to shorten sail after sunset, it seems likely that the *Acushnet,* under a press of canvas and with a fair wind blowing, was capable of a speed of ten knots or more.

At meridian on Friday, May 21, with Point Lomas on the coast of Peru almost dead ahead and a little more than 75 miles away, the course of the ship was altered to the west. At 2 PM the *Acushnet* spoke the ship *LaFayette* of New Bedford, who reported her "5 mo 200 Bbls."[33] San Juan Point bore east-northeast, distant 37 miles, on the following noon. During the next morning Melville could clearly see for the first time the land of Peru, with white guano beds at the foot of Point Doña Maria and the rocks of Los Infiernillos just offshore. Inland a mile or so the table of Doña Maria, 2,150 feet high, of conical form with a flat summit, rose above a chain of mountains running northwest-southeast near the coast.[34]

Before noon on Sunday, May 23, the *Acushnet* entered the deep but narrow Serrate Channel and, passing between the heights of Morro Quemado about a mile away to the east and the low, level, whitish island of Santa Rosa approximately the same distance to the west, worked her way into Independencia Bay. Why Captain Pease chose to enter this bay, which was unknown until 1825[35] and not set down on many nautical charts, is not clear, but it may have been to take on fresh water, vegetables, and fruit at the small fishing village of Tungo. In the afternoon the ship stood out to sea, leaving by the Trujillana Channel, north of Las Viejas Island, and from there shaping her course south-by-west.

A lone sperm whale was sighted on Tuesday, May 25. At noon on the following day, with the ship having moved 30 miles to the north, Pifiero Rock was directly on the starboard beam and San Gallan Island bore east-by-north, distant 13 miles. The fact that for the next two weeks the noon positions of the ship were so close together and her track so zigzagged suggests that intensive cruising for whales had begun. A meridian altitude of the sun taken with the quadrant and a chronometer check for longitude on Monday, May 31, a day of pleasant weather, and a "dead-reckoning" estimate of position on Tuesday, which was cloudy, would have revealed to Captain Pease, as he pricked on a chart the *Acushnet*'s positions, that the ship had advanced only 4 miles in twenty-four hours.[36] During the two-week period, the average daily advance of the craft was less than 20 miles.

Sperm whales were encountered two days in a row, Friday and Saturday, June 4 and 5, when the weather was ideal for a chase, and again on Friday, June

11, when, according to the abstract log, it was "rugged." On the latter occasion the ship was cruising almost 75 miles due west of Callao, having worked her way 160 miles to the north since June 7. This made five times that whales had been raised in little more than a month since Melville and his shipmates passed Mas Afuera. Greasy luck was with them: 190 barrels of sperm oil had gone under hatches during this brief period of cruising, making a total take of 350 barrels for the voyage thus far.[37] If the luck held, and no more oil was trans-shipped home, the hold of the craft could be chockablock with sperm oil long before a four years' voyage was over. At this rate, now that the Pacific whaling grounds had been reached, it might be possible to fill her in less than three years. The average take had been approximately 70 barrels per month, and much of the time had been spent in making a passage, not in searching for whales.

Melville, who had signed on at the 1/175th lay, could count as his own two of the 350 barrels of sperm oil captured thus far. Reckoned at the price of oil prevailing the month he sailed, his earnings would have come to $66.15.[38] Actually, his share in the profits of the voyage as of June 1841 was worth considerably less. Hard times had come to the whaling market at home, but several months were yet to pass before such depressing news would reach the *Acushnet.* Meanwhile her mariners would be undisturbed in their expectations of a brief, lucrative voyage.

It was time now for the ship to reach a port for recruiting and watering. She needed a thorough cleaning and the men needed liberty. After the oil was barrelled and stowed and the decks were swabbed, the *Acushnet* headed for the roadstead of Santa, Peru, her first Pacific Ocean anchorage.

CHAPTER 10

Santa

> Said Santa Stands Situated in a firtile valley in about latitude 8.50S is a small town the inhabitants of which are chiefly devoted to Agriculture. . . . It is a nice place for obtaining water and refreshments, horseriding and "pisco"
>
> —from "Journal of a voyage in the ship James Maury of Salem," February 14–23, 1842

The men of the forecastle broke out their go-ashore clothes and straw Payta hats on Wednesday, June 23. At noon the *Acushnet* was moving a little to the west of La Viuda Island and northwest-by-west of the Bay of Santa. Passing close to the steep white side of the islet of Corcobado, she swept into the bay and in the afternoon "came to Anchor in Santa harbor in 5 fathoms."[1]

Although not one of the most frequented ports of call for vessels in need of recruits, Santa was occasionally touched at by American whalers.[2] The New Bedford ship *Coral,* Captain James H. Shearman, had anchored there as recently as February 1840, and her crew had got off 350 barrels of water by raft, twenty-five barrels of potatoes, a bullock, and several sheep.[3]

Captain Benjamin Morrell, Jr., whose 154-ton schooner touched at Santa in 1825, found the best anchorage in four to ten fathoms of water, muddy bottom, a little to the south of the town and abreast of the Santa River.[4] This river, one of the largest on the coast of Peru, was about 1,800 yards wide at its mouth and had a current of up to 7 miles an hour during the rainy season.[5] Water was easily obtainable at the town, "together with wood, and refreshments of almost every description, at a very low rate"[6]—inducements that appealed to visiting whaling captains, mindful of the economical attitudes of owners.

Surgeon W. S. W. Ruschenberger, serving in the sloop-of-war *Falmouth,* visited Santa in March 1833. His description of the beach and the town suggests that if they did not possess the allurements of South Sea isles, there was an idyllic charm about the place that magnified the pleasures of the land after a voyage at sea.[7] The natives were friendly, the girls pretty, and the climate salubrious.

Along the shore he found six ranchos, "constructed by hanging flag mats on poles, forming a square divided into two or three apartments" (369). In one

rancho he met the curate of Santa, who was taking up sea bathing as a possible cure for an aggravated case of intermittent fever. Ruschenberger writes:

> About half a mile from the usual landing place, were two ranchos, occupied by families who had taken up a temporary abode, for the advantage of sea bathing in the cases of some of their members. Several females were bathing; and as they sprung up to avoid the rolling in of the surf, they gave way to the hilarity of youth on a narrow escape, or they plunged into it, and again emerged, like Venus of old, from the froth of the sea, in all their beauty. The youngest of the five bathers was a little girl, but eight years old, entirely naked, plunging and sporting in the breakers, with her long hair floating down her back. . . . The next was thirteen, and had so far advanced into womanhood, as to conceal the lower part of her person in a petticoat. Her bosom was bare, white, and rounded, and made her represent more years than she possessed. The third was a matron of some twenty summers; her person was hidden in a calico dress, which was rent, and permitted the eye to discover at a glance the beauty of her bust. (369–70)

One of the natives, with a "bottle nose, and a pair of twinkling eyes" (371–72), who was encountered further down the beach, could not understand why sailors impatient to get ashore should stop at Santa. The place to go, he said, was Lima, where there were many amusements like the bull-bait, the cock-pit, the opera, and the tertúlias.

The town of Santa, some three miles inland from the beach, Ruschenberger found, had the same architecture as that in Lima and was laid out with a regularity characteristic of Spanish towns. Its streets appeared very lonely, being "much more than sufficiently extended for the present small population, which does not exceed eight or nine hundred souls" (374). Ruschenberger visited the home of "one of the *magnates* of the land" who kept "a mistress, and an immense baboon for her amusement, without exciting the scandal of the neighbors" (376).

Not far from the landing place rose the two dark peaks of the Chimbote mountains, which commenced at the edge of the sea.[8] In the fertile valley were many of the ancient burial mounds of the aborigines, some of the graves walled up with small adobes and built as square chambers six feet deep and four on a side. A fortress of the Grand Chimu who had been conquered by the Incas still stood as late as 1833. Near the beach, an ancient burying ground had been turned up by visitors in search of earthen vessels. "The whole surface," Ruschenberger observes, was "strewed with skulls and bones, bleaching in the sun, which [received] many a kick by the idle passers by" (373–74).

A lagoon just south of the valley contained excellent mullet, and other nearby lagoons, "abounding with ducks, snipe, and water hens" (374), should

have proved tempting to Captain Pease, if he, like Captain Vangs of *Typee,* were an inveterate huntsman. Rice and sugar were raised in the valley, and large herds of cattle were fattened for the Lima market.

It was customary for crews of whalers in a recruiting port to be divided into two watches, one of which enjoyed liberty on shore until nightfall while the other got off water and provisions and performed necessary duties aboard ship. This was probably the case at Santa with the men of the *Acushnet.*[9]

How Melville occupied himself during the nine days that his ship lay at anchor is not known. Reference in his fiction to this port does not seem to be based on authentic recollection. There is not evidence to indicate that the ominous speech of Elijah in *Moby-Dick* describing the sacrilegious actions of Captain Ahab had any basis of reality in the behavior of Captain Pease at Santa: "But . . . nothing about that deadly skrimmage with the Spaniard afore the altar in Santa?—heard nothing about that, eh? Nothing about the silver calabash he spat into?" (*Moby-Dick,* 19:92).

Two days before the *Acushnet* left port, David Smith, one of the boatsteerers, deserted.[10] Whether the felicities of the land, such as they were, dissatisfaction with his lot aboard ship, or anger at his captain drove him to leave the craft so early in her voyage we do not know. The *Acushnet* had sailed shorthanded, and now one of her junior officers had jumped ship. It was necessary to promote a member of the crew to the position vacated, and Martin Brown, an illiterate Portuguese seaman who had shipped at the 1/145th lay, became the new boatsteerer.[11]

How the foremast hands of the *Acushnet* felt as this "creature of inferior race" took leave of them in the forecastle and moved his chest into the steerage we cannot tell. A "'Gee" who could not write his own name and who stood slight chance of ever qualifying as mate of a ship had just been advanced to junior officer status. Melville may not have shared the comprehensive disdain of many seamen for "'Gees," but his humorous description of the small men of the Cape Verdes who became whalemen contains little in the way of admiration:

> In his best estate the 'Gee is rather small (he admits it), but, with some exceptions, hardy; capable of enduring extreme hard work, hard fare, or hard usage, as the case may be. . . . the 'Gee is by no means of that exquisitely delicate sensibility expressed by the figurative adjective thin-skinned. His physicals and spirituals are in singular contrast. The 'Gee has a great appetite, but little imagination; a large eyeball, but small insight. Biscuit he crunches, but sentiment he eschews.
>
> His complexion is hybrid; his hair ditto; his mouth disproportionally large, as compared with his stomach; his neck short; but his head round, compact, and betokening a solid understanding. ("The 'Gees," *Piazza Tales,* 347)

At some time during Melville's tour of duty in the *Acushnet* the crew of the undermanned vessel was augmented by the shipping of three additional men—a sailor named Hayner (or Haynor) as steward, Jim Rosman, and John Backus.[12] These men were presumably signed on at a port where there was no official representative of the United States.[13] They may have joined the craft in Santa.

David Smith evidently had reason for leaving the *Acushnet* at Santa, but Melville, almost six months out from home in his first whaler, apparently did not. While at this Peruvian port he wrote a letter to his brother Gansevoort that seems to have expressed none of the bitterness or dissatisfaction found in the third chapter of *Typee.* His letter has not survived, but a summary of it, factually inaccurate in some details, is extant in a letter from Gansevoort Melville to Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw:[14]

> I am in receipt of a letter from my brother Herman dated August 1841 [*sic*] at Santa Martha [*sic*], coast of Peru—He was then in perfect health, and not dissatisfied with his lot—The fact of his being one of a crew so much superior in morale and early advantages to the ordinary run of whaling crews affords him constant gratification.[15]

One can only guess whether Herman Melville in his letter gilded the occasion for the benefit of an interested brother or whether he had made an ironic comment upon his status, the implications of which his reader might have missed. One thing seems certain: there is an element of hyperbole in speaking of the crew as being "so much superior in . . . early advantages," when more than one fourth of the ship's company was illiterate.[16]

Because it would be four and a half months before the *Acushnet* would again cast anchor in a port, it was necessary to take on board a sufficient quantity of fresh provisions for the interval of time that would be spent in cruising for whales. By Friday, July 2, the work was completed. During this day the anchor was hoisted, sail was set, and lookouts were posted. The ship got underway, her destination the Off-Shore Ground.[17]

CHAPTER II

The Off-Shore Ground

A perilous life, and hard as life may be,
Hath the brave whaleman on the lonely sea;
On the wide water laboring, far from home,
For a bleak pittance still compelled to roam;
Few friends to cheer him through his dangerous life,
Or strong to aid him in the stormy strife;
Companion of the Sea and silent air,
The hardy whaleman has no envied fare.

—anonymous

When Captain George W. Gardner of the whaler *Globe* returned to Nantucket in 1820 with a full ship—one of the first to carry more than 2,000 barrels of sperm oil to the island—he brought exciting news of the discovery of a new whaling ground. In 1818 disappointing experiences while cruising off the west coast of South America had almost convinced him of the accuracy of a recent gloomy prediction that no ship would ever again fill her hold with sperm oil in these waters. Instead of continuing an unrewarding search there for whales, Captain Gardner employed characteristic Nantucket enterprise. He ordered the yards to be braced and the helm set a-starboard. The *Globe* sailed westward into uncharted seas.

The decision brought gratifying results. He found in a region that reached from latitude 5° to 10° south and longitude 105° to 125° west a most promising area abounding in sperm whales, which he named the "Offshore Grounds."[1] The news travelled fast, and before two years were out, as many as fifty ships were experiencing the greasiest of luck in these waters; ships were still doing so twenty-three years later when the *Acushnet* reached the area. The leviathans had become shyer now, but were still there for the taking, as Melville and his fellow seamen would soon find out.

On Sunday afternoon, July 4, the *Acushnet* spoke the *William Wirt* of Fairhaven, now thirty-six months at sea; the two ships sailed in company for six hours.[2] At 10 PM they parted, Captain Daggett shaping his course for Payta, his next recruiting port,[3] and the *Acushnet* steering northwest-by-west.

30
SANDWICH
(Hawaiian)
ISLANDS
North Pacific Ocean
15
0
Equator
Off-Shore Ground
LINE ISLANDS
MARQUESAS
15
SOCIETY
ISLANDS
(Tahiti)
TUAMOTUS
PITCAIRN
ISLAND
EASTER
ISLAND
30
South Pacific Ocean
45
60
150
135
120
105

Map by John McAusland

The *Acushnet*'s track from Santa to the Off-Shore Ground was not the most direct. The passage took twenty days of sailing to make good some 1,900 nautical miles. After clearing the land, the ship steered for the fifth parallel of south latitude and sailed close to this line until she reached her westward destination. Once for almost a week, from July 9 to 15, the unhurried craft interrupted her progress by sailing almost in a circle on various tacks in a very limited area of ocean. Possibly other whalers were sighted and the ship paused to hear news of the fishery.[4] Except for one day, described in the abstract log as "rugged," the weather during the passage was alternately pleasant and cloudy with fresh southeast trade winds blowing.[5] On Thursday, July 22, the *Acushnet* reached the eastern periphery of the Off-Shore Ground.[6]

Sailing up the 105th meridian of west longitude during the next day, Melville's ship exchanged signals with a Nantucket whaler, the *Lima,* Captain Obed Luce, Jr., thirty-five months out.[7] Although the sea was rough, a "gam" took place, the first by the crew of the *Acushnet* of which positive record has been found.[8] A few weeks later the *Acushnet* would once again gam with the *Lima.* The possible significance of these two meetings for Melville—and for *Moby-Dick* in particular—is discussed in Chapter 12.

In *Moby-Dick* Melville devoted a chapter to "The Gam" and learnedly defined this nautical custom, unique to whaling—"a thing so utterly unknown to all other ships [except whalers] that they never heard of the name even":

> GAM. NOUN—*A social meeting of two (or more) Whale-ships, generally on a cruising-ground; when, after exchanging hails, they exchange visits by boats' crews: the two captains remaining, for the time, on board of one ship, and the two chief mates on the other. . . .*
>
> For the long absent ship, the outward-bounder, perhaps, has letters on board; at any rate, she will be sure to let her have some papers of a date a year or two later than the last one on her blurred and thumb-worn files. And in return for that courtesy, the outward-bound ship would receive the latest whaling intelligence from the cruising-ground to which she may be destined, a thing of the utmost importance to her. And in degree, all this will hold true concerning whaling vessels crossing each other's track on the cruising-ground itself, even though they are equally long absent from home. For one of them may have received a transfer of letters from some third, and now far remote vessel; and some of those letters may be for the people of the ship she now meets. Besides, they would exchange the whaling news, and have an agreeable chat. For not only would they meet with all the sympathies of sailors, but likewise with all the peculiar congenialities arising from a common pursuit and mutually shared privations and perils. (53:240, 239)

The *Lima*'s crew had not taken a whale in fifty-three days,[9] perhaps less recently than the men of the *Acushnet.* Melville's captain, however, unlike the monomaniac Ahab of *Moby-Dick,* who impatiently refused to spend time with a whaler that could not give news of the object of his search, was in no great hurry. After the pleasantries of an eight-hour gam, the two ships sailed together throughout the nautical day.

Lookouts on the *Acushnet* on Sunday, July 25, "saw a Sperm Whale"—the first to be raised by the ship on the Off-Shore Ground—but the day was "rugged with rain" and the occasion seems to have been a disappointing one.[10] The overall work in the area, however, was not disappointing: in the course of one month, within a radius of 34 miles, and in spite of storms and rough seas, the ship's take in sperm oil was greater than for any comparable period of time during the voyage.

A rectangle drawn upon a Pacific Ocean chart with sides stretching only 46 miles north and south, between 4°33' and 5°19' south, and 92 miles east and west, between 104°46' and 106°19' west, would contain the average daily tracks of the *Acushnet* for fifty-three days of this cruise. Three times the ship departed from this limited area, for five, nine, and fifteen days, each time to return and continue her interminable searching back and forth within its confines.

The first day of August, when Melville became twenty-two years old, was pleasant, but most of the month was, according to the ship's abstract log, marked by "rugged weather + squally" and "squalls of rain." Of the eighty-four days that the *Acushnet* spent on the Ground, only thirty-three were downright sunny. If August was the nastiest month of the cruise, it was also the one in which whales were most frequently encountered. On six occasions the masthead standers spotted whales, but only on one of those occasions was the weather good. Weather was foul, too, on the one day in October when a pod of whales breached near the ship.

Although the evidence is somewhat confusing and contradictory, it appears that Melville and his shipmates took close to 370 barrels of sperm oil during this cruise.[11] This is a quantity of oil that could not have been captured in one day; the boats must have lowered into rough seas on some of those days of "rugged weather + squally."

On August 9, a rainy, squally Monday, the *Acushnet* hailed a whaler, the design of whose red, white, and blue private signal was very similar to her own, and running down to the craft found her to be the ship *Midas* of New Bedford, Captain Samuel B. Coggeshall.[12] From the men of this ship, which had already been forty-four months at sea and was soon to be homeward-bound, Melville could have heard an account of what might be expected

during the course of a long whaling voyage. One member of the crew of the *Midas* had been lost in taking a whale, another had died at sea, and a third had been drowned.[13] Ten men had jumped ship, and the first mate had been left at Talcahuano "in consequence of repeated instances of drunkenness, abandonment of duty and ultimately a refusal to return on board and reassume the duties of his situation."[14]

For three days, August 10 through 12, whales spouted near the ship, and a quantity of between 100 and 250 barrels of oil was taken[15]—one of the best runs of luck experienced while Melville was aboard. On Friday, August 13, the ship steered south, and then, between noon of the 14th and noon of the 16th, made a long run of 223 nautical miles to the east in "rugged weather." Doubling back at an average speed of 11 knots, if the abstract log can be believed, it swept 264 miles of ocean in twenty-four hours.[16] On Sunday, August 15, a school of sperm whales breached in sight of the *Acushnet,* but if the ship was moving as fast as the abstract log indicates, there would have been no time to lower the boats. Two days later, on August 17, the *Acushnet* was once again in the neighborhood of the *Samuel Enderby,* that ship out of *Moby-Dick* discussed above in Chapter 9; there is no evidence of the ships meeting on this occasion.[17]

On August 16, the *Acushnet* again met the *Lima.*[18] This gam, discussed below in Chapter 12, was more extended and significant than the one described earlier in this chapter. Although the *Lima*'s luck had not equalled that of the *Acushnet,* since they had last met, the *Lima*'s lookouts had seen "white water" three times, and two whales had been killed. The first was a small cachalot, taken without much trouble, but the second, which yielded 60 barrels, gave the whalemen a good fight, parting the line of the waist boat, staving the larboard boat, and sounding out a line and a half (a line equals 225 fathoms) before he was captured.[19] Like the *Midas,* this whaler would shortly head for home, carrying 1,700 barrels of sperm oil in her hold. In little more than a month the crew of the *Lima,* almost as boisterously carefree as the men of the *Bachelor* in *Moby-Dick,*[20] would be playing the fiddle, fife, drum, "and the cooks tongs . . . dancing the Sailors hornpipe for a breese."[21]

On Friday afternoon, August 27, a day of "squally rugged weather," the ship moved away from the monotonously familiar area of her intensive searching, steering to the north and east. Shortly after she crossed the third parallel of south latitude on Monday, August 30, with the weather still nasty and forbidding, masthead standers of the ship "saw Sperm Whales."

By noon on Saturday, September 4, when she was three miles south of the equator—"the Line," as sailors called it—the *Acushnet* had sailed farther north than at any time since she had entered Pacific waters. In the afternoon

the ship came about, steered to the south, and in twenty-four hours made good a run of 240 nautical miles. Next day the *Acushnet* was again within the confines of her accustomed area of searching, but she was off again on Thursday, September 9. This time, sailing for fifteen days on a zigzag course, she cruised without luck towards the east almost to 102° west; then doubling back, the ship paralleled its track of twelve days before, returning at length to familiar waters.

The now familiar *William Wirt* was again descried at ten o'clock on Saturday morning, September 25. In company the two Fairhaven whalers stood to the south, veered ship to the northeast late Sunday afternoon, and at 10 PM on Sunday, September 26, parted company, not to meet again during their current voyages.[22] Captain Pease, reporting a take of 600 barrels of sperm oil,[23] must have heard an unusually prosperous declaration from Captain Isaac Daggett of the *William Wirt.* Within a little more than nine months this ship would conclude a most successful voyage, bringing to Fairhaven on June 4, 1842, a cargo of 2,760 barrels of sperm oil,[24] valued even in terms of the miserably low prevailing price of 68 cents per gallon—a drop of 37 cents below the price in January 1841, when the *Acushnet* had sailed—at more than $59,000.[25]

The last pod of sperm whales that the men of the *Acushnet* would see spouting on the Off-Shore Ground during this cruise was raised on Friday, October 1, again a day of "rugged squally weather." If reports of whalers subsequently encountered may be relied upon,[26] there was a blustery chase, resulting in the capture of from 100 to 120 barrels of oil.

On Friday, October 8, Melville's whaler spoke the *William Lee* of Newport, Captain Gifford, fifteen months out, 400 barrels. The next day the *Acushnet* hailed a ship belonging to St. John, New Brunswick, the port from which Captain Pease had sailed in the *Mechanic.* She was the *Margaret,* Captain Pratt, twelve months at sea, 300 barrels. And on Monday, October 11, a ship from home was descried, the *Joseph Maxwell,* Captain Charles D. Harding, fourteen months, 700 barrels. The *Acushnet* sailed north on Wednesday, October 13.

Ominous word of native treachery in the Marquesas Islands, where the *Acushnet* would come to anchor in some eight months, may have been heard by Melville on Friday, October 15, when his ship encountered the *Alexander* of New Bedford, Captain Charles Stetson.[27] Earlier in the year, while this whaler was recruiting at the Marquesas, one of her mates, Mr. Allen, had been killed by island natives.[28]

Just before she reached the Line, the *Acushnet* hailed on Saturday, October 23, the barque *United States* of Westport, Massachusetts, twelve months, 300 barrels. Having recently spent ten days at Tumbez, Peru, Captain William B.

Hicks could have given the master of the *Acushnet* useful information concerning the recruiting port that he would soon visit. Captain Pease reported 720 barrels of sperm oil for his ship's ten months of whaling.[29]

Within a little more than four months after her meeting with the *Acushnet,* violent mutiny, similar in some respects to the mutinies described in Chapter 20, would stalk the decks of this barque, with eleven members of her crew of twenty-one in armed revolt, refusing to do their duty, and threatening Captain Hicks and his officers. Although the most relevant page of the barque's logbook has been torn out, the following entries suggest the nature of the violence:

> [Thursday, March 10, 1842] This day . . . steering N and going ahead 6 nots per hour the revolters remains quiet to until 2 AM except they have ben looking round for water and laying out a plan to get some by foul means if not by fair, when at 2 1/2 AM they come aft to the bloober room for water all prepared with fi[gh]ting implements such as try gear, handspikes and everything they could muster but got defeated the second time but they ware told by Capt. Hix again [that] they [would be given] a plenty to eat and drink if they would come to duty and they sed again the[y] never would and they ware answered they should die before they should have any as long as they remained of[f] duty, at sunrise they however [stuck] a piece of paper out the c[r]acks of the companionway and we found rote on it that fo[u]r of us wore redy to go to duty and behave like men and before 12 meridian they all ware redy to come to duty we took up 7 of them and gave them one dozen lashes apiece sent them to duty and ware glad to come of[f] at that.
>
> [Friday, March 11, 1842] Commences brisk breezes and pleasant weather. . . . At 2 PM took up the other fore from below and gave them two dozen lashes apiece and putt them in irons and put them down [in] the blubber room and gave them bread and water prisoners allowance cleared away things about decks. . . . The four prisoners remain quiet and the rest seem to work as willing as before.[30]

At Callao Captain Hicks discharged three ringleaders of the mutiny, not considering "the lives of his Officers safe with these persons on board and at liberty."[31]

On Sunday morning, October 24, the *Acushnet* crossed the equator, perhaps for the first time since it had sailed into the Pacific.[32] Toby Greene, Melville's companion in the forecastle, recorded in after years an incident aboard the *Acushnet* that had been the occasion of great amusement for the crew as the ship sailed across the equator:

We had a shipmate once, whom we named "Jack Nastyface," from the fact that his face was as rough as a MacAdemized road. The first time that we crossed the equator in the Pacific, "Jack" was at the mast head looking out for whales. As soon as "eight bells" were struck, and "Jack" was relieved, he was informed that we had crossed the line. "Jack" never would be behind anybody in intelligence. "The devil we did!" says "Jack." "Can't ye tell us some news? didn't I see it as well as you did, and better too? wasn't I aloft? I saw the line before any man aboard."[33]

CHAPTER 12

A Dead Whale or a Stove Boat

> "Stern all!" exclaimed the mate, as upon turning his head he saw the distended jaws of a large sperm whale close to the head of the boat, threatening it with instant destruction; "stern all hands, for your lives!"
>
> —*Wharton the Whale-Killer!*[1]

"Yes, there is death in this business of whaling—a speechlessly quick chaotic bundling of a man into Eternity" (7:37), Ishmael observes in *Moby-Dick* after describing the gloomy marble tablets of the whalemen's conventicle at New Bedford, which recounted fatalities in the fishery. And in Chapter 45, "The Affidavit," he remarks,

> Yet I tell you that upon one particular voyage which I made to the Pacific, among many others, we spoke thirty different ships, every one of which had had a death by a whale, some of them more than one, and three that had each lost a boat's crew. (45:206)

The first statement is completely valid, documented again and again by reports of whaling accidents in the period when Melville sailed the South Seas. Available evidence does not fully substantiate the second remark as an authentic recollection of Melville's whaling years, but it cannot be summarily dismissed as dramatic exaggeration.

"A dead whale or a stove boat," the tune to which the men of the *Pequod* pulled when in their whaleboats (36:161), assumed only two conclusions to a fight with a whale, but there were other less dramatic possibilities. Harpooners missed their targets, and their quarry escaped without fatal incident. Many an iron darted into a whale "drawed" (pulled loose). And in order to avoid a boat's being disastrously towed under by a deep-diving cachalot, many a mate ordered the line to be cut, the angry whale going off to windward with a barb in its black skin.

Fatal accidents were not invariable concomitants of the staving of a boat by a whale. Boats were so frequently shattered by leviathans that a hardened mariner, unscathed in a vicious brush with a bull whale, might commit to his journal a merry commentary on the encounter such as the following:

> Wednesday Sept 8th [1841]. Since my last attempt at literary composition . . . I'll tell you what we've done—we've got a whale only think of it and I'll tell you another thing we've done we fastened to another one a real buster one of the large ones all alone by himself but he slapped the Bow Boat side the chops twice he did and made a damn great hole in her and what with one thing and another . . . we missed getting him.[2]

But death was frequent enough in the fleet to remind whalemen constantly of the extra-hazardous nature of their occupation. The record of loss of life caused maliciously by ferocious whales or accidentally by "gallied" (frightened) ones during the period of Melville's whaling career is gloomily impressive, as the following reports attest:

> A letter fm bk Pleiades, of Wareham, reports her May 1st [1841], with 1200,—had lost her 3d officer, killed by a whale.[3]

> Heard from 24th [July 1841], Magnolia, Barnard . . . lost 3d officer, Mr Francis Luce, taken out of the boat by a line.[4]

> Ar[rived] at Maui, Sept . . . 2d [1841], Elbe, Poughkeepsie . . . lost a man and had all her boats stove.[5]

> [Spoken September 23, 1841] Franklin, Ray, Nan[tucket], no oil; had lost a boat steerer killed by a whale.[6]

> [Brig Pearl, of Rochester], [l]ost a boat's crew by a whale, 1841.[7]

> these 24 hours begins Plesant wether went on shore while on shore saw whales came of[f] to the ship and lored the Boats Got one whale and got one Boat stove and the 2d mate killed by the whale [Saturday, January 1, 1842].[8]

> At Callao . . . Nantucket, Gardner, 400—Peter F. Swain, 3d mate, lost, taken out of the boat by a line [on January 21, 1842].[9]

> Captain Wood's boat [of brig Emeline, New Bedford, during 1841–43 voyage] was stove by a whale, and he died from exhaustion before help reached [him].[10]

> [M]ate, Alexander Swain [of the ship Henry Astor, Nantucket, during 1840–44 voyage], killed by a whale.[11]

> A letter from on board bark Elizabeth, of Mattapoisett, dated Dec 13, 1842, reports losing a short time before, Joseph Tripp, of Fairhaven, killed by a whale.[12]
>
> Second mate, William Lacky [of ship Candace, New London], killed by a whale June, 1843.[13]
>
> Second mate, George Coffin [of ship Liverpool, New Bedford], killed by a whale July 5, 1843.[14]
>
> The American Barque Elizabeth [of Freetown, Mass.] arrived [at Honolulu, August 5, 1843] having lost her Captain and a boats crew in taking a whale.[15]

These disasters occurred during or near the time that Melville was out whaling. He may well have heard accounts of these and other tragic accidents of the fishery, for whenever whalemen met at sea or in recruiting ports, they swapped exciting news of the fleet. Melville was at Lahaina when the *Liverpool* lay at anchor in the roadstead and at Oahu when the *Candace* and *Elizabeth* arrived, each shortly after a disastrous encounter with a whale. Other remarkable stories of whaling fatalities that occurred during his years in the Pacific may have been known to Melville. The first of these concerns a grim open-boat experience.

The Nantucket ship *Congress,* Captain John Pitman, raised whales 4°20' south, 120° west, on April 1, 1841, and lowered her boats. A whale was struck and ran to the windward, towing the boat to which it was fast out of sight from the ship. Captain Pitman supposed that the boat had been stove and sunk, "as nothing was seen of either boat or men, notwithstanding the ship cruised in pursuit some considerable time—say two days. The persons in the boat were Silvester Freeman (Indian) boatsteerer; Isaac Barker, John Williams (shipped on the Coast) seamen; Paine and Tripp, natives."[16] Captain Pitman had done his duty; his ship continued her cruise for whales.

But, astonishingly, the boat was not lost. When, some time later, the ships *Cambria* and *Superior* arrived at the Marquesas Islands, its whalemen found there members of the supposedly lost boat's crew of the *Congress,* who told of a desperate open-boat passage of approximately 1,500 miles. One man had died. The survivors took ship to Tahiti, apparently in hope of rejoining the crew of the *Congress.*[17] They preceded Melville by nearly a year at both the Marquesas and Society Islands.

Another dramatic encounter with a leviathan occurred on Sunday, August 15, 1841. The New Bedford ship *Coral,* Captain James H. Shearman, was

cruising about a hundred miles south of the Galápagos Islands (while the *Acushnet* was working the Off-Shore Ground). A record of this adventurous and tragic day appears in the journal of a mate of the *Coral:*

> Sunday Aug 15th [1841]. This day we have fresh breeses from S.E. and pleasent wether first Part imployed cutting in the Whales middle Part steering to the ENE under easy Sail imployed Trying out the Whales. At 7 AM Discovered a school of Sperm Whales going to the N.W. at 9 Lowred the Boats in persuit. at 10. Struck a large Whale. in a few moments the second Boat fastened to him. and after. running a few moments more the Third Boat fastend. the Whale roled upon his side. and took the Boat into his Mouth and chewed her in many Hundred Pieces but no one was hurt. we got the whale to Spouting good blood while Eating the Boats. after he had entirely consumed her he left and started of[f] Moderatly to the Windward. sent one Boat on Board with the Stoven Boats crew and the fragments of the Boat, thinking that the whale would die soon and do us no more Damage, in a Short time after, while the Third Mate was in the Act of Lancing him. he turned upon him and Eat his Boat up also he not coming off so fortunate as the former Boat for Richard B Saunderson, Foremast Hand was Drowned the Crew haveing to leave the Boat. I cut my line to Pick them up. Mr Pierce, Third oficer got his Shoulder Hurt and Jethro Studly, Boat Steerer come near being Drowned having sunk. I Dove and caught him and took him into the Boat Lifeless but he soon come to when another Bot come to me from the Ship I putt into her the Stoven Boats crew and went and fastened to the Whale again which ly near By nearly Dead. on my Aproaching him he Turned upon his side with his Jaw Open and persuid me, haveing Avaided him and hove an Iron into him I let him go and in a few moments he was in the Agonies of Death and Breathed his Last So Ends this day[18]

That whale yielded 100 barrels of oil, worth $2,835 on the New Bedford market in August 1841.[19]

Two deaths, a jinxed ship, and a bloodless refusal of service were elements in the fate of another ship. Twenty days before the barque *Lucy Ann* of Sydney brought Melville, a sick captain, and a disaffected crew to Tahiti in September 1842, Captain E. T. Shearman of the New Bedford whaler *Mount Vernon* had landed there nine members of his crew who were "revolters from their duty at sea."[20] They had refused to serve in the whaleboats of the ship. Captain Shearman delivered them to S. R. Blackler, the United States Consul. Upon being officially examined, the revolters—William Platts, Edward Moody, Sidney Macomber, Warren Farren, Edward Griffith, Thomas Adams, Daniel Geary, Thomas Oakman, and Silas S. Coollidge—declared "that they

would never do duty as whalemen if put on board of said ship."[21] Captain Shearman declined to use force and agreed to let the men be discharged. He shipped nine other whalemen in their stead.

What Consul Blackler found, after questioning the nine men and the remaining crew and officers of the *Mount Vernon,* was "that the aforesaid revolters had no tenable ground for their refusal of duty and that their revolt was occasioned by a prejudice against whaling amounting to a fear owing to some previous accidents having taken place."[22] The prejudice was born a little more than six weeks before on July 13, 1842, when the boats of the *Mount Vernon* were fast to a whale. One of them was stove and Thomas Welch, seaman of St. John, N.B., was killed. Again on August 4 a whale was harpooned. This time the animal violently struck the mate's boat and stove it, causing the death of the boatsteerer, William W. Davis, of Dartmouth.[23] The next time that "There she blows!" was heard from the masthead and Captain Shearman ordered the boats to be lowered, nine of the men refused to join in the chase. They were through with whaling. They knew when a ship was jinxed.

In one case a fighting captain died in a battle with a whale. On Tuesday, December 14, 1841, the New Bedford ship *Parker,* Captain Prince Shearman, was cruising on the Line some 2,000 miles to the west of the *Acushnet*'s anchorage at that time in the roadstead of Tumbez, Peru. A pod of whales was sighted by a lookout on the *Parker,* and the boats were lowered, one of them headed by Captain Shearman himself.

> His boat having been made fast to one of a large school of sperm whale was capsized and stove. He was thrown out either by the line "unshipping from the chocks" or the stroke of a whale's flukes, which were seen by the crews of the other boats, frequently to pass over the boat's bows. At that critical moment a large number of whales were seen around the boat. The unfortunate captain, however clung for a short time to the shattered boat, but before aid could arrive, he sunk to rise no more. Long. 113° W. & Lat. 00°40' N.[24]

Under the command of G. W. Smith, who had been first mate, the luckless *Parker* continued her voyage. At 2:30 AM on September 24, 1842, a sea dashed through the cabin windows and immediately thereafter the ship struck a reef eight miles from the center of Ocean Island. In forty-five minutes the craft was completely wrecked, her 2,000 barrels of sperm oil and 1,000 barrels of whale oil (worth approximately $53,000 in September 1842) going with her to the bottom. The first mate and three men were drowned, but twenty-four of the ship's company managed to reach the island by hanging on to masts and spars that they had cut from the *Parker.* After spending more than six

months on the island, the destitute crew was rescued by two whalers, the *James Stewart* of St. John, N.B., and the *Nassau* of New Bedford. Seven of the men of the *Parker* enlisted on board the *Nassau* to perform the voyage; thirteen of them were landed from that ship at Honolulu and placed under the protection of the American consulate at a time when Melville was a resident in the town.[25]

Whatever impression these reports left on Melville, there is one supremely perilous event at sea that affected Melville with a force that is demonstrable from his explicit treatment of it in *Moby-Dick.* On November 20, 1820, in the mid-Pacific a sperm whale attacked the Nantucket whaleship *Essex* and sunk it with two fierce blows from its head. The three-month survival of the men of the *Essex* in open boats was described in a small book by Owen Chase, the ship's first mate. Although the staving and sinking of boats was commonplace and something for which any whaleman would be mentally prepared, the sinking of a ship by a whale was unknown before the attack on the *Essex.* This extraordinary story circulated widely, and not merely in whaling circles. The two notable uses that Melville makes of the *Essex* adventure are an extended discussion of it in Chapter 45 of *Moby-Dick* (where the author curiously talks not as Ishmael but in his own persona) and the climactic attack on the *Pequod* at the end of the novel.

Melville has left notes on two special ties to the story of the *Essex,* one of them a meeting with the son of the ship's first mate and chronicler and the other an occasion on which he claims to have actually caught sight of Owen Chase.

At some point before Melville's desertion from the *Acushnet,* the ship gammed another whaleship on board which was the young seaman William Henry Chase, son of Owen Chase. The ship was probably the *Lima,* with which the *Acushnet* is known to have had a three-day gam from August 16 to 18, 1841. Melville not only met William Henry Chase but borrowed from him a copy of Owen Chase's *Narrative of the Most Extraordinary and Distressing Shipwreck of the Whale-ship Essex, of Nantucket* (1821). Melville recalled that reading "this wondrous story upon the landless sea, & close to the very latitude of the shipwreck had a surprising effect" on him (*Moby-Dick,* 983). It is not hard to imagine that conversation with William Henry had a surprising effect on him as well.

In a copy of Owen Chase's *Narrative* given him by his father-in-law, Lemuel Shaw, Melville noted:

> Somewhere about the latter part of A. D. 1841, in this same ship the Acushnet, we spoke the "Wm Wirt"* of Nantucket, & Owen Chace was the Captain, & so it came to pass that I saw him. He was a large, powerful

> well-made man; rather tall; to all appearances something past forty-five or so; with a handsome face for a Yankee, & expressive of great uprightness & calm unostentatious courage. His whole appearance impressed me pleasurably. He was the most prepossessing-looking whale-hunter I think I ever saw.
> —Being a mear foremast-hand I had no opportunity of conversing with Owen (tho' he was on board our ship for two hours at a time) nor have I ever seen him since.
> * Charles Carroll [In a correction Melville substituted Charles Carroll for Wm Wirt] (980–82, 986)

It is hard to explain Melville's impression that he had encountered Owen Chase, since Chase was already retired from the sea by the time that Melville was on the *Acushnet.* The mistake is the more curious since, as Melville notes in his annotated copy of the *Narrative* just cited, the second mate on the *Acushnet,* John Hall, claimed to have served under Owen Chase on the *Charles Carroll.*

One tie to the *Essex* that Melville does not speak of is worth noting: the *Acushnet*'s first mate on Melville's voyage, Frederick Raymond, had fourteen years earlier served as second mate under Owen Chase on the *Winslow.* Fuzzy recollection on Melville's part may have confused Raymond and Hall.

A more tenuous tie to the *Essex* is the fact that one of the seamen with whom Melville was to sign on his third whaler, the *Charles and Henry,* was Joseph Whiting, who had in 1836 deserted from the *Catherine* in Nukahiva, a ship captained by Joseph Chase, a brother of Owen Chase. Whether Melville heard any tales of Owen Chase from a seaman who had served under Owen's brother can only be guessed.

Accounts of disasters that were circulating when Melville was at sea exalted one particular whale to the status of most ominous. Jeremiah Reynolds's "Mocha Dick: or, the White Whale of the Pacific," appeared in *The Knickerbocker* in May 1839; it was possibly intended as part of a larger travel book, apparently never published. Reynolds, who had earlier in his career worked on a sealer, had served as secretary to Commodore Downes on an 1832 cruise of the frigate *Potomac* and had published an account of the cruise in 1835. He contributed to *The Southern Literary Messenger* during and after the editorship of Edgar Allan Poe, who admired Reynolds, especially for his advocacy of the United States Exploring Expedition. Reynolds was also a supporter of the Symmes hollow earth theory.

Mocha Dick's name derives from the Chilean coastal island of Mocha, in the vicinity of which the white whale was especially known to appear and challenge his would-be hunters. Reynolds's tale is a framed story told by the first mate of a whaler with which the narrator's sealing ship has gammed.

An argument between one of the sealers and the mate of the whaler about the merits of their respective professions leads to an invitation to the mate to recount his memorable adventures in pursuit of the great white whale of Mocha. The chase of the whale is told vividly and in an insider's voice. What immediately distinguishes "Mocha Dick" from *Moby-Dick* is the triumph of the whale hunters, not the whale: the first mate telling the story of the whale was its killer. What also distinguishes the two stories is that Reynolds writes adventure pure and simple and does not attribute to his leviathan any symbolic or philosophical dimension. A good deal of critical attention, most notably by Howard Vincent, has been paid to Melville's awareness of Reynolds's story.[26]

CHAPTER 13

Enchanted Isles

> In no world but a fallen one could such lands exist.
>
> —"The Encantadas"

After leaving the Off-Shore Ground the *Acushnet* sailed for the Galápagos Islands. Melville reacted strongly to the sight of them:

> Take five-and-twenty heaps of cinders dumped here and there in an outside city lot; imagine some of them magnified into mountains, and the vacant lot the sea; and you will have a fit idea of the general aspect of the Encantadas, or Enchanted Isles. A group rather of extinct volcanoes than of isles; looking much as the world at large might, after a penal conflagration.
>
> It is to be doubted whether any spot of earth can, in desolateness, furnish a parallel to this group. ("The Encantadas: Sketch First," *Piazza Tales,* 127)

Born in successive bursts of subaqueous violence, this archipelago had been reduced to the very lees of fire. Albemarle Island, the largest of the group, was composed, according to Captain Robert Fitz-Roy of the *Beagle,* "of six huge craters, whose bases are united by their own overflowed lava."[1] Knowing neither autumn nor spring, seldom touched by rain except in their beclouded upper levels, hostile to all but reptile life, and scant of vegetation, these islands were likened by Melville to "split Syrian gourds left withering in the sun . . . cracked by an everlasting drought beneath a torrid sky" ("The Encantadas: Sketch First," *Piazza Tales,* 126).

Although whales came to calve and to seek squid in deep waters near this archipelago and were sought and taken on what Melville called "the Enchanted Ground" ("The Encantadas: Sketch First," *Piazza Tales,* 128), it was "turpining" (terrapin hunting) that most attracted whaling vessels to the group during the period of the *Acushnet*'s maiden voyage.[2] Tortoises, some of them weighing over 500 pounds and large enough to carry a man, flourished in these isles.[3] They could live up to eighteen months without food or water and provided fresh and delicious meat at no extra cost to whalemen who were tired of a monotonous diet of barrelled pork and beef, hardtack, and fish.[4]

The North Head of Albemarle, which on October 30 bore southeast,

40 miles away, was the first sight of land.[5] Charred, clinkered, and desolate though it was, it must have worn a fabulous hue to Melville and his shipmates after their long and prosperous cruise on the Off-Shore Ground. But their impatience better to see the land was probably aggravated when, during the latter part of the nautical day, the wind died and the craft was becalmed for nearly twenty-four hours. The next day the *Acushnet* fell in with a Nantucket whaler, the *Phenix,* Captain Josiah Hamblen, which during fifteen months of cruising for whales had captured 550 barrels of sperm oil.[6]

Rock Redonda, celebrated in two of the ten sketches in "The Encantadas," was in view during a good part of the day; at noon it was only twelve miles distant.[7] Melville, in a statement that is perhaps autobiographically veracious, wrote that his first visit to this spot was in the gray of a morning when three boats were lowered to fish in the moon-shadow of Redonda.[8] He may well have rowed close to the rock on Monday morning, November 1. Winds had become fresh again, yet the *Acushnet* moved along her average track only 18 miles in twenty-four hours. If boats were not lowered on that morning, there were other opportunities for visiting and even climbing the Rock, which was inhabited in ascending strata by a hierarchy of noisy aquatic birds. In late January 1842 when the *Acushnet* was again sailing near the group, she cruised for six days in close vicinity to Rock Redonda.

Passing near the west coast of Narborough Island on November 2, the *Acushnet* encountered a Falmouth whaler (the *Hobomok,* Captain Silas Jones, seventeen months, 850 barrels) and two Nantucket ships (the *Henry Astor,* Captain Seth Pinkham, twenty months, 1,000 barrels, and the *Richard Mitchell,* Captain William H. Gardner, twenty-eight months, 1,000 barrels).[9] Captain Pinkham was one of the most distinguished and literate of whaling skippers,[10] and Captain Jones, the youngest master in the whaling service, was famous throughout the fishery for an act of courage performed in 1835.[11]

From the men of the *Richard Mitchell* Melville could have heard an exciting story of the hazards of whaling. Within the past two weeks the *Richard Mitchell* had spoken the *Coral* of New Bedford, and the crew of the Nantucket ship had doubtless been told of how the boats of the *Coral* had been chewed by a great bull whale and one of the foremast hands had been killed.

He could also have heard from the crew of the *Hobomok* a narrative concerning Captain Silas Jones that would become a classic in the annals of whaling. Although the events had occurred six years before, the tale was frequently and dramatically told during the period when Melville sailed the South Seas.

In the twenty-third month of a whaling voyage the ship *Awashonks* of Falmouth passed, on October 5, 1835, under the lee of Namorik Island, an atoll of the Marshall Group.[12] The whalemen saw many coconut trees and

plantains growing on the land, and, as the ship ran down the south shore, they observed naked islanders hurrying along the beach. From the entrance of a lagoon three canoes, each containing three to four natives, put off to the whaler. Captain Prince Coffin decided to trade briefly with the islanders.

The canoes came alongside, and, after several dozen coconuts and bunches of plantains had been passed up, the natives were allowed the customary privilege of coming aboard. They were all naked except the chief, who wore a grass skirt, a necklace of fish teeth, and other adornment. These islanders were darker than most South Sea natives and spoke a strange tongue, incomprehensible even to Tahitian members of the *Awashonks*'s crew.

Shortly before noon Captain Coffin ordered dinner and went below with his first two officers, leaving on deck only the third mate, Silas Jones, and a helmsman. The twenty-one-year-old officer was instructed to keep a lookout and to shoot the sun as it passed the meridian.

Mr. Jones noticed the attentive regard of the natives toward anything made of iron aboard the ship. He noted that they showed a superstitious fear of the bright and shiny sextant with which the third mate observed the sun and that they manifested a covetous interest in fourteen highly polished cutting-spades that were kept in a box attached to spars about seven feet above the quarterdeck.

When he was relieved to go to dinner, Mr. Jones told Captain Coffin that other canoes were heading for the ship; by the time that he had finished a hasty meal and returned to the deck, he found that the number of islanders aboard had increased to about thirty. At this time one watch was below, three men were aloft at the mastheads, and the rest of the crew was scattered about the deck of the vessel.

Whatever feelings of apprehension the third mate may have had were not shared by the master of the *Awashonks.* Captain Coffin humored the islanders by taking down a spade and illustrating in pantomime how the razor-sharp instrument was used to cut in a whale.

Mr. Jones noticed that the natives were becoming excited. From a position of vantage he saw one of them bringing a war club up the gangway and reported this action to the captain. Orders were given to drive the natives off the deck. The third mate seized the club as it came above the railing and threw it overboard. While he was attempting to take a club from another islander, his attention was arrested by loud noises behind him.

The natives made a concerted rush for the cutting-spades. Suddenly these deadly implements were flying through the air. Captain Coffin was beheaded. First Mate Gardner drove a spade through the native who had killed the captain and then, rushing forward, escaped injury by jumping down the

fore-hatchway. The second mate and three men were driven overboard and killed in the water.[13]

In the confusion Mr. Jones managed to secure a spade. He thrust it at a native who was standing at the top of the cabin gangway, but the man dodged the blow and the spade fastened itself into the woodwork. The third mate tried to retrieve the weapon from two islanders who seized it, but when he saw a native approaching with a spear, he ran forward, barely escaping a spade thrown from the opposite side of the deck. He saw an open hatch and leapt for it, landing on the lower deck of the forehold.

There he found the first mate and three or four seamen who were making preparations for defense.

"Oh dear, Mr. Jones, what shall we do?" asked Mr. Gardner. "Our captain is killed and the ship is gone!"[14]

The third mate, too exhausted to reply, sat down. While he was getting his breath, he thought of the possibility of gaining possession of the firearms in the cabin. He soon began breaking a passage through the clutter of casks and articles stowed between decks, working his way in a few minutes to the steerage where he found the blacksmith, a sick man who had been off duty for some time. Together they broke down the door to the deserted cabin. Mr. Jones secured a pair of large pistols and a few charges of ammunition, loaded the pistols, and gave them to the blacksmith with orders to guard the cabin entrance while he made ready the ship's muskets.

Mr. Jones found a large coffee pot filled with powder and a bag containing a few pounds of buckshot. He charged the pieces and called to the blacksmith. He was answered by a young black lad named Charley, who had come from the forehold. The blacksmith had given the pistols to Charley and had then retreated to safety between decks.

At length the natives, who had been celebrating their victory by singing, dancing, yelling, and striking the deck with spears, discovered Mr. Jones and Charley in the cabin. Five or six of them, armed with spades, stood at the top of the gangway. Taking deliberate aim, Mr. Jones fired into their midst. The islanders were amazed; "if they had all been struck by lightning from heaven they could not have ceased their noise quicker than they did."[15]

The two began firing charges in quick succession, aided now by another lad, John Parker, who had come from the forehold. When the islanders had sufficiently recovered from their first fright, they answered the shots by hurling harpoons, spades, and even a spyglass into the cabin.

From the stern windows the men kept up an effectual fire that prevented canoes from bringing reinforcements to the natives aboard the ship. While so employed they were joined by a seaman named Lewis. This man had sprung

from the rigging of the foremast, over the heads of natives on deck, and had badly hurt himself in his fall to the forehold, escaping only after the natives had sliced one of his ears. Lewis took a gun from one of the lads and fired at a native who was trying to enter the cabin; then he fell to the deck when a thrown spear severed one of his knee joints.

Later Daniel Wood, crippled and almost exhausted from loss of blood, came into the cabin. He brought the heavy news that Mr. Gardner, the first mate, lay lifeless in the forehold.

A sudden rattling of chains suggested that someone was tampering with the helm. Mr. Jones and the blacksmith, who had recovered courage and returned to the cabin, together fired through the binnacle overhead. Later they learned that their shots had killed the island chief.

Mr. Jones now determined to rush the upper deck. He armed Parker and Charley with muskets, put a brace of pistols in his belt, and took a gun in hand. Just as they reached the deck they heard footsteps. Then someone grasped the muzzle of Mr. Jones's musket.

"Oh! Mr. Jones, I did not know you were alive. They are all gone. They are all gone."[16]

It was Perkins, a boatsteerer who had been at the topgallant crosstrees and had descended to the deck when the islanders had left the ship.

When the ship's muster was called, it was found that six men had been killed and seven were severely wounded.[17] Mr. Jones assumed command of the *Awashonks* and brought it safely home.

Twice in his fiction Melville mentioned the whale ship *Hobomok* (spelling it *Hobomak* and *Hobomock*). In a series of paragraphs in the first edition of *Typee,* he discussed "enormities perpetrated in the South Seas upon some of the inoffensive islanders" (4:26),[18] contrasting the phlegmatic regard of Americans toward such happenings with their excited reaction to instances of native violence:

> How different is our tone when we read the highly-wrought description of the massacre of the crew of the Hobomak by the Feejees; how we sympathise for the unhappy victims, who, after all, have but avenged the unprovoked injuries which they have received. We breathe nothing but vengeance, and equip armed vessels to traverse thousands of miles of ocean in order to execute summary punishment upon the offenders. On arriving at their destination, they burn, slaughter, and destroy, according to the tenor of written instructions, and sailing away from the scene of devastation, call upon all Christendom to applaud their courage and their justice. (4:27)

In one of the extracts at the beginning of *Moby-Dick,* the *Hobomok* is again mentioned:

> "It was not till the boats returned from the pursuit of these whales, that the whites saw their ship in bloody possession of the savages enrolled among the crew."—Newspaper Account of the Taking and Retaking of the Whaleship *Hobomock* ("Extracts," xxviii)

It is with some surprise that one finds—after checking available official records and examining the marine columns of contemporary newspapers—no mention of a massacre occurring aboard the *Hobomok*.[19] How then did Melville come to write with such inaccuracy of the ship commanded by Captain Silas Jones that he saw in 1841 near the Galápagos Islands? At first blush it would appear that he confused the events in which Jones behaved so heroically in 1835 with the craft of which he was captain in 1841. But the islanders who attempted to seize the *Awashonks* were not "enrolled among their crew." Melville's two references to a *Hobomok* seem more relevant to another incident of native violence, one that occurred aboard a familiar Fairhaven ship during the years when he was a whaleman.

The ship *Sharon,* which he had seen at anchor in Fairhaven harbor in December 1840, was sailing some twenty-nine months later in the Pacific Ocean just south of the equator and near 167° east longitude. Captain Howes Norris, a stern young master, had already had some trouble with his youthful, discontented crew. There had been floggings, men had been put in irons, and two junior officers had been turned before the mast. Desertions followed these actions, and it had been necessary to ship natives from the Kingsmill (Gilbert) Islands. Captain Norris's ideas about discipline culminated on September 1, 1842, in an act of brutality, the likes of which one seldom finds in whaling history. The record of this dark day of the *Sharon*'s voyage survives in an unlettered but moving account in a journal of a member of the crew:

> Thes 24 hours light breezes steering to the E nothing in sight The Capton turned out and came on deck about half past 6 AM When A Man by the name of Jackbaker went Aft to the Capton with two small Pieces of meat about 4 mouthfuls and told the Capton that he found it Where John Babcock eat his supper supposed he left it there the Capton told Jackbaker to put it on the Hencoob that stood aft in a few minets the Capton went and looked at it And commenced Cusing and swearing at Babcock and called the Steward and told him to pass up his Piece of Rope which was about four feet 6 inches in length with three strands and 14 yarns in a strand and told John Babcock to keepe to worke oiling his gun that stood aft by the Mizenmast then the Capton commenced flogging him with this Peas of Whaleline he give him about 3 duzin I should think I did not count them the Capton then went and got his Breakfast and come on deck and tolde Babcock to [s]trip this foot which he had scalded som time before this the

> Capton commenced dressing it and kicked him about the face head and temples whilst he was setting on deck after he got his foot dresed he tolde him to go and draw [scratched out] water and fill up that tub which stood in the waste it held about 100 gallons While he stood over him withe his Piece of Whaleline in his hand at the same time Pooting it crost his back as hard as he could and telling him to hurry which he did hurry as fast as he could After he had got the tub full the Capton tolde him to go and wash the bulwarks aft he started to go and fell down two or three time Whilst the Capton did follow him and swearing at him to an Awfull rate at the same time pooting the piece of Whaleline acrost his back with all his mite then he started to go forid to get some sand the Capton followed him with the rope still putting it on him as harde as he could still swearing to an awful rate He fell down by the side of the Triworks on the larboard side there to rise no more the Capton tolde him to get up Babcock said that he could not stande up then the Capton took him by the arm and haled him up and told him to set up then Capton Norris let go of him and he stratened him self out on deck the Capton spoke to the second mate and tolde him that he believed the nigger was a Dying he come there the Capton tolde him to raise him up the Capton then spoke to him 2 or 3 times but he was so far gone he could not speak the crew stood and see him [scratched out] to breath his last in a few minets the Capton asked some of them if He had a blanket the answer was that he had one Capton tolde them to get it he was poot in to it and sowed up then he was poot on to a plank and laid on the Hencoob that stood aft there he laid till 6 PM then we haled up our courses and haled back our hed Yards John Babcock a culered Man was taken to the wast and Launched overboard without a word of seramony or a tear shed to my noledge He has gone I hope to rest he has asked times previous to this What would becum of him if he jumped overboard or cut his throat When Capton Norris had ben flogging him It seames that he wanted to Dy But did not want to go to hell as he had said before I hope that he has gone hom to Glory may God bless him
> And I hope this will be a warning to Capton
> Norris and all the rest of his Officers on board[20]

When the *Sharon* put in at one of the Caroline Islands for wood and water on October 15, there was disaffection in the crew. On Wednesday, October 19, 1842, Captain Norris placed two men in irons, "one for refusing to cook the other for taking up for him." Three days later, on October 22, twelve men "nocked off duty becaus the capton said that he would not give them any liberty"; afterwards he decided to allow each watch three days ashore. Then twelve men deserted. Mustering but seventeen whalemen, the *Sharon* set sail on October 27 for Bay of Islands, New Zealand. It was decided that only two boats would be lowered for whales during the passage, with the eighteen-

year-old third mate, Benjamin Clough, steering for the first officer, Thomas H. Smith, and Captain Norris serving as shipkeeper.

On Sunday morning, November 6, when the *Sharon* was in latitude 2°20' north and longitude 162° east, whales were sighted and the boats were manned. Captain Norris, a Portuguese boy named Manuel, and three Kingsmill Islanders were left aboard the ship. The men in the larboard boat went on to a large whale and killed and waifed it, and the *Sharon* ran down to it and took it alongside.

At three o'clock in the afternoon while the boats, several miles away, were still busily pursuing whales, one of the natives stole behind Captain Norris and slashed his neck so violently with a whaling spade that the head was almost completely severed from the body. The frightened Manuel, who was aloft at the time, scurried high into the rigging. He cut the main topgallant halyards and brought the ship's ensign to half-mast, hoping to give a peremptory signal of recall to the men in the boats. Below him the three natives, shouting triumphantly, divested themselves of all clothing and began collecting whaling implements, belaying pins, billets of wood, shells, hammers, and other weapons with which to repel any attempt by the whalemen to regain possession of the *Sharon.*

Around four o'clock the whales milled round and headed for the ship, and the first mate's boat, in pursuit of them, approached the *Sharon.* Manuel frantically shook the colors, and when the men were within hailing distance, he shouted a warning to stay away from the craft.

While Manuel was explaining what had happened, a native jumped upon the taffrail and, shaking a cutting-spade menacingly, dared the men to attempt to come aboard. A fourth native, who was in one of the boats, was addressed in his own language. When he made a gesture of disapproval, the cook's axe came flying at him. Then followed a barrage of furiously thrown missiles, the natives jeering at the unsuccessful attempts of Mr. Clough to strike them with his harpoon.

A consultation among the whalemen resulted in no satisfactory plan for recapturing the *Sharon.* First it was proposed that the boats should attack the ship, one on each side. Then Mate Smith suggested that both crews take one boat, leaving him in the other to await the outcome of their plan. The men said they would rather make for the nearest land, some five days' sail away.

At this juncture Mr. Clough offered to board the vessel alone if Manuel would cut the fore royal stay and let it drop into the water so that he might climb up it to the end of the jibboom. The mate consented to this plan, but the boy was too exhausted to be of any assistance.

When night came, Mr. Clough again determined to venture alone upon

the ship. He stripped naked, put a sheath knife in his mouth, and cautiously swam toward the vessel. Suddenly the wind shifted and the *Sharon* was taken aback. In the phosphorescent water it was necessary to move so carefully that it was a full hour before Mr. Clough reached the stern of the ship, clambered up the rudder, and entered a cabin window.

He was loading a musket in the dark when he was discovered by one of the natives. A terrible hand-to-hand encounter commenced. Mr. Clough ran a cutlass through the other's body, and, in fighting for possession of the weapon after he had withdrawn it, he gouged out one of the native's eyes, leaving him exhausted on the floor. During the struggle the native had gained momentary control of the cutlass and disabled Mr. Clough's right arm.

A second islander appeared at the top of the cabin gangway. He hurled a spade at Mr. Clough at the moment that the third mate fired. The native fell dead, but his spade struck the third mate's left arm, cutting to the bone the thick muscles above the elbow. The third native appeared, but seeing his dead companion rushed forward and jumped overboard.

Bleeding profusely, Mr. Clough hailed the men in the boats. They were reluctant to come aboard, saying that they had heard only one shot fired. After about half an hour they mustered sufficient courage. On the deck they found Mr. Clough trying ineffectually to stanch the flow of blood from his wounds. The native who was dead was thrown overboard, the wounded one promptly killed, and the third native, who had returned to the ship, was seized and put in irons.

When the ship returned to Fairhaven, Mr. Clough was a hero. In spite of his youth, the owners of the *Sharon* made him captain of the vessel.[21]

During his whaling career Melville doubtless heard about the *Awashonks* and *Sharon* massacres.[22] It must have been a hazy recollection in later years that resulted in the unwitting synthesis of elements in two very similar narratives and the attribution to the *Hobomok,* whose master, Silas Jones, had saved the *Awashonks,* of bloody happenings that never took place on her decks. One is left to assume that the "Newspaper Account of the Taking and Retaking of the Whale-ship Hobomock" in *Moby-Dick* is a piece of Melville's invention.

The day after speaking the *Hobomok,* the *Acushnet,* cruising not far from the South Head of Albemarle Island,[23] met on November 3 the *LaFayette,* which she had spoken five months earlier off the coast of Peru, and the *Rousseau,*[24] a craft that Melville had seen in New Bedford harbor some eleven months before. The men of the *Rousseau* were repairing the fore-topsail when Melville's ship came into close range. What was the news? Not very good for the *Rousseau.* In six months she had taken only 50 barrels of sperm oil. One of her foremast hands, Henry Vincent, had fallen overboard in July 1841 and

drowned,[25] and the cook, William Johnson, had recently been discharged at Payta after he had tumbled down the hatchway and become utterly deranged.[26]

And how were things at home? Hard times, even for the whaling industry. Sperm oil was getting as little as 81 cents a gallon and had averaged no more than 85 cents in April 1841 when the *Rousseau* had sailed.[27] There was still wrangling over the national bank, William Henry Harrison was dead after only one month in office, and John Tyler had succeeded to the presidency.

Melville remembered the *Rousseau* in his fiction. In *Mardi* the narrator states that he met at sea with the *Rousseau,* a Nantucket vessel, shortly after she had been rammed by a swordfish.[28] But the *Rousseau* was, as Melville must have known, a New Bedford, not a Nantucket, whaler. Her logbook reveals that one of her crew was killed and perhaps eaten by Nukahivan natives, but there is no mention of an extraordinary encounter with a swordfish.

For the next twelve days after speaking the *Rousseau,* Melville's ship sailed in a leisurely fashion near the South Head of Albemarle, never getting farther than 30 miles from the land. In such fine weather, so different from the squally times on the Off-Shore Ground, it was pleasant to work ship lazily and exchange news with rival whalers. On November 10 the *Acushnet* bore down on the *Mary* of Edgartown, Captain William Atkins, and two days later she spoke the New Bedford ship *Massachusetts,* Captain John P. Barnard.[29] The *Mary* was so far an unlucky ship in the fishery. Although she had put out to sea just two days after the *Acushnet* had left Fairhaven, she had taken only 150 barrels of oil. She was a craft well known to Captain Pease, for his brother, Henry Pease II, had already taken her once to sea and would be in command on her next voyage. The *Massachusetts* had been more fortunate than the *Mary;* still her 600 barrels for thirteen months of cruising fell considerably short of the take of Melville's ship.

Years later Melville wrote with conviction, and apparently without exaggeration, of one of the reasons why the Galápagos Isles were called enchanted: the baffling currents in nearby waters "so strong and irregular as to change a vessel's course against the helm, though sailing at the rate of four or five miles the hour" ("The Encantadas: Sketch First," *Piazza Tales,* 128). He had but to take a trick at the wheel or observe Mr. Raymond's comments on the log slate to know that during five days the ship was slowed in her eastward progress by currents strong to the west and southwest.[30] In these enchanted waters she passed close to the northern coast of Charles Island on November 18.

By Friday noon, November 19, the ship was eleven miles due west of Wreck Bay and the coast of Chatham Island. Against a strong trade wind and a current setting to the southwest, she slowly moved towards her in-

tended anchorage in Stephens Bay. A lone whaler laying there at anchor, the ship *Columbus* of Nantucket, Captain William Bunker Gardner, sighted the *Acushnet* at four o'clock in the afternoon. Near this craft Melville's ship "came to Anchor at Chatham's Isle in 15 fathoms water."[31]

The *Columbus,* which had captured 1,050 barrels of sperm oil in twenty-six months,[32] had arrived six days before for the purpose of procuring tortoises and wood. Her logbook gives a first-hand account of the anchorage and the business of "turpining":

> Saturday Nov 13th Coms with brisk trades at 2 PM came to Anchor in 10 fathoms with Hicker Rock . . . on the Point of Low land at 3 PM. 2 boats went ashore & at, 1/4 past 4 returned loaded with Wood at 3 AM. two Boats Started after turpin & at daylight one after wood latter part sounded about the Bay & found 12 fathoms the safest Anchorage, which will bring Hicker Rock half way on, found wood plenty enough to get off a Boatload an hour with 12 men, 1 1/2 miles from the Ship Round a point of Rocks to the NE where there is excellent Boat landing Wood both green & dry, and as crooked as an old Maids Ribs.
>
> Monday Nov 15th . . . at 6 PM the boats returned with 32 large turpin, at 3 AM started after more latter employed getting off wood.
>
> Wednesday Nov 17th Coms with strong trades at 6 PM the Boats returned with 37 turpin latter [part] started after more
>
> Thursday Nov 18th Coms with brisk trades two Boats the South side & one in Wreck Bay latter returned with 66 turpin[33]

The men of the *Columbus* captured in all 179 tortoises before they set sail on Sunday afternoon.

The cry of "Town-Ho!"[34] upon the discovery of "turpin" must have echoed about the isle as the crew of the *Acushnet* joined in the chase of these ugly, hissing creatures.[35] Once a "turpin" was captured, the men turned it over on its back, made a round hole in each of its flippers, and tied the front and back flippers together. Then they attached the tortoise to a canvas sling and carried it on their backs to the landing.[36] Terrapin hunting was brutal work because of the sharp lava over which the men had to walk, carrying animals weighing hundreds of pounds. The average weight was about 80 pounds, but could be much more. According to Thomas Nickerson aboard the whaleship *Essex* in 1820, "[The tortoises'] constant uneasiness whilst carrying them . . . [and] the very uneven walking and constant giving way of stones beneath ones feet makes it[,] I have often thought[,] the hardest labour that can be given to

man."[37] But the reward was considerable: the tortoises, which could survive a long time without food or water, were kept alive on board until they were eaten.

There was one letter in the *Acushnet*'s mail pouch addressed to a member of the crew of the *Columbus*.[38] Perhaps upon its delivery or at some time during the three days that the two ships were together in Stephens Bay, the two crews swapped news. If so, the whalemen of the *Columbus* could have spun from their own experience tales of stove boats and a run of hard luck in July 1841:

> Friday July 9th . . . at 1/2 past 5 PM lowered & struck a large whale & got a boat stove at 10 took the whale alongside.
>
> Monday July 12th . . . latter struck a large whale got one boat stove & lost him with 2 Irons Lance Oars &c at 12 2 boats off in persuit of more
>
> Tuesday July 13th fine weather the boats off after whales at 5 PM struck one at dark cut with the loss of 4 Irons & one lance pure hard luck. . . . took in two stoven boats & put out one good one & commenced repairing
>
> Thursday July 15th first part strong winds & rugged lowered & struck a small whale & got a boat stove lost the whale took the boat in & commenced repairing her.
>
> Saturday July 17th . . . at 2 PM saw a large whale lowered & chased him til dark & then came on board looking marlinspikes at each other[39]

The scenes that Melville and his shipmates observed at Chatham Island had been visited six years before by Charles Darwin and Captain Robert Fitz-Roy in HMS *Beagle.* As the British man-of-war under his command first approached the land, Captain Fitz-Roy noticed that low clouds and a hazy atmosphere "gave a strangely misleading appearance to the lower parts of the island."[40] What seemed to be large trees and thick woods were actually small craters and irregularly shaped chunks of lava.

Two huge rocks just outside the anchorage, both of which were in view from where the *Acushnet* lay at anchor, made the setting seem further bewitched. "The Kicker Rock," wrote Captain Fitz-Roy, "is a curious mass of stone, rising almost perpendicularly from the bottom of the sea, where it is thirty fathoms deep; and in the offing is another (called the Dalrymple, by Colnett), which looks exactly like a ship becalmed, with all sail set."[41]

To Charles Darwin, Chatham Island was a scientist's rich resource. In the record of his experiences while serving with the *Beagle* (volumes that Melville

consulted when writing *Moby-Dick*[42] and "The Encantadas"), there is a vivid description of the island:

> One night I slept on shore on a part of the island where black truncated cones were extraordinarily numerous: from one small eminence I counted sixty of them, all surmounted by craters more or less perfect. The greater number consisted merely of a ring of red scoriae or slags, cemented together, and their height above the plain of lava was not more than from fifty to a hundred feet: none had been very lately active. The entire surface of this part of the island seems to have been permeated, like a sieve, by the subterranean vapours: here and there the lava, whilst soft, has been blown into great bubbles, and in other parts, the tops of caverns similarly formed have fallen in, leaving circular pits with steep sides. From the regular form of the many craters, they gave to the country an artificial appearance, which vividly reminded me of those parts of Staffordshire where the great iron-foundries are most numerous. The day was glowing hot, and the scrambling over the rough surface and through the intricate thickets was very fatiguing, but I was well repaid by the strange Cyclopean scene. As I was walking along I met two large tortoises, each of which must have weighed at least two hundred pounds: one was eating a piece of cactus, and, as I approached, it stared at me and slowly stalked away; the other gave a deep hiss and drew in its head. These huge reptiles, surrounded by the black lava, the leafless shrubs, and large cacti, seemed to my fancy like some antediluvian animals. The few dull-coloured birds cared no more for me than they did for the great tortoises.[43]

The *Columbus* upped anchor and made sail on Sunday, November 21, leaving the *Acushnet* in Stephens Bay. On Monday Captain Pease became forty-four years old.[44] On whalers the birthday of the captain (unless he was particularly crusty) was a merry occasion often calling for relaxation of the ship's activities, skylarking, an extra measure of Pisco all around, and a breaking out of the fiddle and any other available musical instruments.

By Thursday, November 25, the work at Chatham Island was completed. Sail was set, and a course was shaped for the coast of South America and the roadstead of Tumbez, Peru, the next recruiting port of the *Acushnet.* Although the ship cruised again for almost a full month (January 4–February 3, 1842) in waters around the Enchanted Isles, the six days when she was at anchor off Chatham Island in November 1841 constituted the longest continuous period of time (and the only one for which there is external evidence) during which Melville had opportunity to go ashore at the island group. Yet in the ten sketches of "The Encantadas," he refers only twice, and then in passing, to this island.

Some twelve years after visiting the Galápagos Islands, when Melville

Map by John McAusland

began writing the sketches that first brought literary recognition to this volcanic archipelago,[45] he resorted to a familiar technique—the ransacking of travel books for detail to refresh his memory and for ideas and stories with which to supplement his personal observations and experiences. He drew upon the narratives of Ambrose Cowley, James Colnett, David Porter, and Charles Darwin, appropriating as raw material for his creative imagination whatever he felt that he needed and altering and transmuting his borrowings to artistic advantage.[46] Melville's capture of the basic mood of the enchanted islands, his concrete description of them, and the apparent authenticity of occasional autobiographical references undoubtedly owe something to his observations from the deck of the *Acushnet* and to his experiences ashore at Chatham Island. But with one exception, the longer narratives in "The Encantadas" belong to a time earlier than that of Melville's visit to the group and are traceable to printed sources.

"Sketch Eighth" ("Norfolk Island and the Chola Widow") tells a tale of almost maudlin sentimentality about happenings that purport to belong among Melville's experiences as a whaleman. "Far to the northeast of Charles'

Isle," Melville begins the tale, "sequestered from the rest, lies Norfolk Isle; and, however insignificant to most voyagers, to me, through sympathy, that lone island has become a spot made sacred by the strongest trials of humanity." During his first visit to the Encantadas, he states, the crew of his ship had been ashore for two days hunting tortoises. On the third afternoon, while the ship was getting underway, one of the men heaving at the windlass detected "something moving on the land, not along the beach, but somewhat back, fluttering from a height." The cabin spy-glass revealed that the object was a human being, and a boat was promptly lowered, soon bringing back to the ship a woman who "was a most touching sight," a mournful "dark-damasked Chola widow," by the name Hunilla.

The mariners gathered on deck about Hunilla while she told her piteous story to the captain, "a prompt, good fellow," who was well acquainted with the Spanish tongue. Three years before, this *chola* (half-Indian woman) of Payta, Peru, had come to the Enchanted Isles with her new-wedded husband of pure Castilian blood, Felipe, and her only brother, Truxill. The object of their visit was to produce tortoise oil. They had secured passage on a French whaler whose blithe captain exacted in silver the price of their transportation and engaged to pick them up again at Norfolk Island after he had cruised several months for whales. With them the Peruvians brought two dogs, a chest of clothes, tools, cooking utensils, and a rude device for extracting oil. The enterprise and perseverance of this party of three resulted in a large capture of tortoise and a considerable take of oil, which they tried-out under the broiling sun.

The feeling of gaiety that attended their arduous labors was soon abruptly terminated, for before the end of seven weeks death took the two men. One morning they departed in a too-hastily improvised catamaran. Before they were out of Hunilla's sight, the Indian raft capsized and fell to pieces, and its two occupants were killed. Hunilla sorrowfully buried her husband, but the body of her brother she never recovered from the waves.

The French whaler did not return, and, although she saw in the distance the sails of ships, no rescuing vessel came to her side of the island. With her "small, soft-haired, ringleted dogs"—now increased to ten in number—Hunilla remained despondently on Norfolk Island. Time was her labyrinth, and she began to lose count of the days as perforce she became increasingly reconciled to never effecting her escape.

It was a presentiment, Hunilla suggested, which urged her to cross to the other side of the island, there to be rescued fortuitously by a ship just preparing to sail. After listening with much tender sentiment to her grim story, the captain ordered a boat to be sent ashore so that Hunilla might recover the few things she desired to take with her. Her chest, the oil, live tortoises

(which she gratefully gave to the captain), and two of her dogs were placed in the boat. "The sequel is soon told," Melville writes:

> After a long passage, vexed by calms and baffling winds, we made the little port of Tombez in Peru, there to recruit the ship. Payta was not very distant. Our captain sold the tortoise oil to a Tombez merchant; and adding to the silver a contribution from all hands, gave it to our silent passenger, who knew not what the mariners had done.
>
> The last seen of lone Hunilla she was passing into Payta town, riding upon a small gray ass; and before her on the ass's shoulders, she eyed the jointed workings of the beast's armorial cross. ("The Encantadas: Sketch Eighth," *Piazza Tales,* 162)

It is not possible to demonstrate from available evidence that this story belongs to the maiden voyage of the *Acushnet*. The setting is not Chatham Island, where Melville is known to have gone ashore, but one of the most unfrequented of the larger islands of the group. Although his ship, in moving toward Stephens Bay,[47] sailed within 16 miles of Norfolk Island (Melville employed an anachronism in place names—it had long been known to whalemen as Porter's Island and Darwin knew it as Indefatigable), there is no evidence to show that she stopped there to hunt tortoises.[48] The factual basis of the narrative, however slight, is that on the *Acushnet's* first visit to the Galápagos Islands she anchored to hunt tortoises and then made immediate passage to Tumbez in Peru. If a whaler in which Melville served did, indeed, rescue a dark-damasked *chola* widow from the Enchanted Isles and return her to her native land, it must have been the *Acushnet,* and the time must have been late November 1841.[49]

CHAPTER 14

Tumbez and More Cruising

> Now we are bound into Tonbas [Tumbez], that blasted whaling port,
> And if you run away, my boys, you surely will get caught.
> —from "Blow, Ye Winds," whaling song

The passage from Chatham Island to Tumbez, Peru, although not direct, was brief, requiring a week for the *Acushnet* to make good something more than 600 miles.[1] Winds were either fresh or moderate, and the weather remained pleasant. By Sunday afternoon, November 28, the littoral of Ecuador was clearly in view. During the night the ship passed within 14 miles of the island of Salango, where she would recruit in February 1843,[2] and the next day she sailed into Santa Elena Bay, possibly in search of whales. With Point Santa Elena bearing south, twelve miles distant, and Ayangua Point eight miles due east at noon on Monday, November 29, the *Acushnet* steered to the westward, better to clear the land and move toward her intended anchorage.

Sperm whales were seen not far offshore on Tuesday, November 30, and the boats may have been lowered, but if so, the chase was apparently unrewarding.[3] The next day, sailing on a course of east-southeast, the ship glided into spacious Guayaquil Bay, passing within twelve miles of the island of Santa Clara, where a newly erected lighthouse, 230 feet high, could be seen.[4] On Thursday afternoon, December 2, the *Acushnet* moved to the southwest and "came to Anchor at Tombey [Tumbez] in 6 fathoms water."[5]

From the *Acushnet*'s deck the crew observed a scene of physical grandeur that 314 years before had inspirited the conquistador Francisco Pizarro and his small band of Spanish followers, the first white men to behold it. Inland the mighty chain of the Cordilleras swept abruptly from the coast, leaving "but a narrow strip of emerald verdure, through which numerous rivulets, spreading fertility around them, wound their way into the sea."[6] What Pizzaro and his followers saw, the *Acushnet*'s people saw: "Chimborazo, with its broad round summit, towering like the dome of the Andes, and Cotopaxi, with its dazzling cone of silvery white, that knows no change except from the action of its own volcanic fires; for this mountain is the most terrible of the American volcanoes."[7] The very green of the land and the apparent cool

of its island heights must have excited the pent-up spirits of the *Acushnet*'s crew, so recently arrived from the scoriated Encantadas.

But expectations aroused by the appearance of land from a ship at sea are sometimes deceptive. The men of the *Acushnet* may well have been disappointed in Captain Pease's choice of an anchorage, for although Tumbez was an excellent place for recruiting, it was far from being a desirable liberty port. James A. Rhodes, a whaleman who visited Tumbez a few years after the *Acushnet* stopped there,[8] felt that his captain deliberately chose the anchorage with the view of preventing members of his crew from escaping. The Tumbez roadstead was, Rhodes believed, "the spot which of all others was least inviting—principally on account of the paucity of people, who did not number more than fifteen or twenty, beside children, dogs and fleas, which were very abundant."[9] Clouds of mosquitoes filled the air, and not even the heaviest of woollen garments afforded protection from them. Rhodes found no difficulty in believing a tale of the virulence of these insects, that a man who had been stripped and tied to a tree at night was a corpse before sunrise, killed by mosquitoes.[10]

Rhodes's perception is echoed by Ansel Weeks on the second voyage of the *Acushnet.* He visited Tumbez in August 1847 and writes of the Peruvian port, "The inhabitants are a mixture of Spanish and Peruvian blood. they are poorly educated generally. and live in the most simple and uninviting manner. . . . They subsist Chiefly uppon Potatoes, Bananas, little or no bread. with an occasional soup." However, he goes on to say, "The most part The Girles are quite pretty have black hair and eyes. and on the whole are quite attracting or should be to a lover of the fair sex. But I'll not judge on so limited acquainten[ce] haveing been ashore but two days . . . I'll bring this page to a close by bidding Goodbye to Tombez and the folks not excepting the black eyed Dona Angela Somontes."[11]

The ingenuity of whalemen could usually be counted upon to overcome the handicaps of the sorriest of liberty ports. Most of the dozen or so buildings near the landing place were used for commercial purposes, but one of them was a boarding house, run by a "careless, jolly landlord" who tried to make pleasant the free time of visiting sailors.[12] Here Rhodes and his shipmates managed to entertain themselves. They sold their clothes for a few gallons of New England rum and the services of a "Spanish" fiddler. Spreading bullock hides on the boarding house floor, they joined forces with the crew of another whaler and spent their hours ashore in "uproarious mirth," dancing, drinking, and singing. When tired of such pleasures, they chased alligators and rode donkeys.[13]

Captain Tristram Pease, brother of the *Acushnet*'s master, brought the

barque *Columbus* of New Bedford to Tumbez for purposes of wooding and watering in December 1840.[14] His crew rafted heavy casks over the bar and found two miles up the Tumbez River excellent water, cool and sweet, flowing into the stream from nearby mountains. After securing almost a year's supply of water, the men climbed the heavily wooded river banks, chopped down trees, and brought to the whaler a good supply of firewood. Later they loaded the bins with antiscorbutic fare—sweet potatoes, plantains, and bananas. Before the craft sailed, a good many of the men acquired as pets for the next cruise wild Tumbez monkeys and parrots. Their work completed, foremast hands were given about a dollar each for spending money and allowed one day of shore leave to visit the small adobe village of Tumbez, two miles or so inland. Liberty parties were rowed up the river to the landing place and set free until sundown. One boisterous member of the crew, after a prolonged visit at the pulperia, became so rowdy that native soldiers threw him in the local calaboose.[15]

A much earlier visitor to Tumbez, Captain David Porter, in command of the frigate *Essex* during the War of 1812, found the village a "wretched place."[16] He was invited into several of the approximately fifty huts in Tumbez "where hogs, dogs, fowls, jackasses, men, women, and children, were grouped together, and from whence, in a few minutes, I was always glad to make my escape, from the innumerable swarms of fleas with which they were infested."[17] The inhabitants of the village were, he thought, a sorry breed:

> The men of this place seem to be of the lowest class of those who call themselves civilized; and the women, although of fine forms, animated, cheerful, and handsome countenances, are destitute of all that delicacy, the possession of which only can render the female lovely in our eyes.[18]

In this setting of fleas, mosquitoes, alligators, hardly civilized men, and indelicate but not unattractive women, Melville and his shipmates sought entertainment during periods of authorized liberty while the *Acushnet* lay at anchor. With the exception of Rio de Janeiro, where the ship stopped for only three days, Captain Pease seems deliberately to have avoided all South American ports where there were consular representatives of the United States or opportunities for diversion that might have led his crew to lose interest in whaling. The ideal recruiting place for a whaling master was clearly one where port charges were small, provisions were plentiful and reasonably priced, and the setting offered his crew few temptations to jump ship.

There were desertions at Tumbez, however, in spite of its dubious attractions for seamen, as Captain E. F. Cook of the New Bedford whaler *Nile* found in November 1841. A week before the *Acushnet* cast anchor in the

Tumbez roadstead, five members of the *Nile*'s crew stole a whaleboat and left the vessel.[19] By an ironic coincidence one of these men was Manuel Silva (or Amado Sylva),[20] who in less than a year would be numbered with Melville among the revolters aboard the Sydney whaler *Lucy Ann.* One is left to wonder whether Melville met at Tumbez this deserter from an American ship who would be a shipmate during his second voyage.

Although a Peruvian *reglamento* that forbade entry into any minor port of the republic was applicable to Tumbez,[21] the law was evidently not enforced there. As maritime columns of contemporary newspapers and a good many logbooks attest, Tumbez was in 1841 a favorite port of call for whalers in need of water and provisions.[22] Potatoes, plantains, oranges, fresh beef, wood, and other necessary ship supplies were plentiful and could be purchased at a reasonable price. Among the whalers recently encountered by the *Acushnet,* the ship *Rousseau* and the barque *United States* had just come from Tumbez.

At least one whaleship was at anchor in Tumbez Roads on the day that the *Acushnet* arrived there, the ship *Roman* of New Bedford, Captain Charles G. Smith.[23] Melville and his forecastle companions could have advantageously joined in with liberty parties from this craft before her sailing on Saturday, December 4, for the *Roman* was making her fourth visit to Tumbez during her current voyage,[24] and her crew was doubtless familiar with every recreational possibility of the place. Captain Pease and William H. Bunker, first mate of the *Roman,* went together into the village, appearing before the Peruvian captain of the port and witnessing the official discharge of a foremast hand of the *Roman.*[25]

On Wednesday, December 1, Captain Pease wrote a letter home, stating that he had 570 barrels of sperm oil on board and had trans-shipped an additional 150 barrels.[26] Since the ship raised no more whales in December 1841, his report is a record of the luck of the *Acushnet* during the first year of her maiden voyage.

The prevailing price of sperm oil at New Bedford in December 1841 was 93 cents per gallon, a considerable rise over the low in June of that year but still a good twelve cents below the height of January 1841 when the ship had sailed.[27] Reckoned at its December value, the oil tried-out aboard the *Acushnet* during 1841 was worth $21,092.40.[28] Of this take Melville's share, now a little more than four barrels, was worth $120.53. The ship had captured an average of 66 barrels a month during eleven months in which much time had been spent in making passages. Her luck had been greasy. This was the best year of her first voyage.[29]

The *Acushnet* no longer had the look of a new ship. Her spars, sails, and rigging had become sooty from the smoke of her tryworks, and the heat of the tropics and the salt air of the sea had cracked her paint. It is likely that

while at Tumbez the vessel was thoroughly cleaned, perhaps repainted, and everything made shipshape for her next long cruise for whales.

Melville left no extended record of the days spent at Tumbez. He remembered the Tumbez girls, however, and the potatoes. In *White-Jacket* when the seamen of the frigate *Neversink* are, in compliance with a recent Navy regulation, ordered to shave their beards, Jack Chase protests eloquently to the ship's barber, "Ah! barber, have you no heart? This beard has been caressed by the snow-white hand of the lovely Tomasita of Tombez—the Castilian belle of all Lower Peru. Think of *that,* barber!" (85:360). In *Omoo* we read of the Tumbez potato: "Perhaps the finest sweet potato in the world. It derives its name from a district of Peru, near Cape Blanco, very favorable to its growth; where, also, it is extensively cultivated: the root is very large; sometimes as big as a good-sized melon" (52:202n.).

After thirteen days in port the *Acushnet* was well-supplied for another lengthy search for leviathans. On Wednesday morning, December 15, 1841, the ship made sail and stood off from the land.[30] Before her was a cruise of more than six months. She would return to the Galápagos, seek her quarry near the Off-Shore Ground, cruise back and forth across the Line, and finally come to rest at Nukahiva in the Marquesas Islands. In Chapter 1 of *Typee* Melville offers a glimpse of the sailor's mind during such cruising:

> SIX MONTHS AT SEA! Yes, reader, as I live, six months out of sight of land; cruising after the sperm-whale beneath the scorching sun of the Line, and tossed on the billows of the wide-rolling Pacific—the sky above, the sea around, and nothing else! Weeks and weeks ago our fresh provisions were all exhausted. There is not a sweet potatoe left; not a single yam. Those glorious bunches of bananas which once decorated our stern and quarter-deck have, alas, disappeared! and the delicious oranges which hung suspended from our tops and stays—they, too, are gone! Yes, they are all departed, and there is nothing left us but salt-horse and sea-biscuit. Oh! ye state-room sailors, who make so much ado about a fourteen-days' passage across the Atlantic; who so pathetically relate the privations and hardships of the sea, where, after a day of breakfasting, lunching, dining off five courses, chatting, playing whist, and drinking champagne-punch, it was your hard lot to be shut up in little cabinets of mahogany and maple, and sleep for ten hours, with nothing to disturb you but "those good-for-nothing tars, shouting and tramping over head,"—what would ye say to our six months out of sight of land? (1:3)

The *Acushnet*'s track for the first few days after she made sail from Tumbez Roads suggests that Captain Pease intended to steer directly for the Off-Shore Ground, there to try again his luck in a search for sperm whales. On Sunday, December 19, however, for reasons now unaccountable, the ship

began a series of tacks to the east and south, and by December 24 her bow was pointed once more towards the coast of Peru. In pleasant weather with gentle breezes blowing from southeast-by-east, Melville marked his first anniversary as a whaleman, spending Christmas Day 1841 at sea some 200 miles from the nearest land. Two days later Cape Blanco was in sight and Tumbez due east, about 60 miles away. Hauling to the north, the ship moved again through the outer reaches of the Gulf of Guayaquil, then near Point St. Elena on the Ecuadorian coast, and past the islands of Salango and La Plata. On the last day of the year, as if taking a new departure, Captain Pease ordered the ship's helm set a-starboard. There had been a change in plans; the men of the *Acushnet* sailed westward to pay another visit to the Galápagos Islands.[31]

Bucking a strong northeasterly set of the current on a hazy Thursday, January 6, 1842, they raised Hood and Charles Isles. The weather was fine for whaling during the next day when they saw a lone leviathan, but the *Acushnet*'s first lowering of the new year was evidently unavailing. The next report on the barreled take of the ship shows no increase in the quantity of sperm oil stowed down.

So far as the essential business of the voyage was concerned nothing advantageous was accomplished during the period of almost a month that the *Acushnet* cruised once again about the Encantadas. There were opportunities for capturing more huge, antediluvian-looking tortoises, for bringing on board a supply of gnarled wood, and for socializing with the crews of other whalers, at least seven of which were sailing nearby. But for all their zig-zagged, careful searching about these isles, the whale-hunters of the *Acushnet* had not another rewarding glimpse of a spouting leviathan. Indeed, one ship's crew in the vicinity, almost despairing of finding sperm whales, had taken to killing blackfish.[32]

Skirting the southern tip of Charles Island on Saturday, January 8, the *Acushnet* explored nearby waters to the west and south, returning on January 17 to almost the same spot where she had been ten days before. Melville saw tiny Crossman Isle on Wednesday, January 19, and had a good view of the South Head of Albermarle as the helmsman steered small while rounding the land. Through Weather Bay the *Acushnet* sailed; to port lay volcanic Narborough "in the black jaws of Albemarle like a wolf's red tongue in his open mouth" ("The Encantadas:, Fourth," *Piazza Tales,* 140). Then the course was beyond Lee Bay and North Head on the largest isle. There was occasion for renewed credence in the bewitchment of these waters during parts of Friday and Saturday, January 21 and 22, when the ship, some 25 miles from Rock Redonda, lay in a sea becalmed but was forced along by a strong current to the southwest. After several days of sailing on different tacks near the Rock,

the *Acushnet* stood to the south and, almost paralleling her recent northward track, returned on Sunday, January 30, to the vicinity of Crossman Isle.

"No whales plenty of ships and dull times," a mate of the *James Maury* of Salem wrote in his journal on January 30, 1842.[33] While sailing about the Galápagos Islands, the *James Maury,* commanded by Captain Benjamin Hussey, had in the past nine days spoken "the Acushnet Peas 12 1/2 mos 700" and five other craft, two of them late arrivals from Yankee soundings.[34] The Salem ship had exchanged news with the *Equator* of New Bedford, Captain Fisher, twenty-six months, 1,000 barrels, and four Nantucket whalers: the *Aurora,* Captain Frederick S. Coffin, nine months, 160 barrels; the *Congress,* Captain John Pitman, twenty-nine months, 1,200 barrels; the *Ganges,* Captain George Pitman, five and a half months, 150 barrels; and the *Ocean,* Captain Elijah Parker, fifteen months, 700 barrels. Previous to January 21 she had seen at Chatham Island the *Enterprise* of Nantucket, Captain George Cannon, thirteen months, oil not stated, and had had an earlier speaking with the *Ganges.*

Whether the mariners of the *Acushnet* boarded the *Aurora* or the *Ganges* to get recent information from home or heard it at second-hand during their meeting with the *James Maury,*[35] they must have received disheartening word of the condition of the whaling market. Sperm oil was bringing 80 and 82.5 cents per gallon when the *Aurora* sailed on May 13, 1841, and 82, 85, and 92.5 cents two months later when the *Ganges* departed Nantucket.[36] In terms of this news Captain Pease could gloomily have estimated that the 720 barrels of sperm captured by his men was worth about $5,000 less than it would have been on the January 1841 market when he sailed from Fairhaven.

Directly or indirectly Melville may have learned during this visit to the Encantadas about a boat's crew of the *Congress* that had been towed out of sight by a whale on April 1, 1841, and had been given up for lost, but which had made a long desperate journey across the open Pacific to Nukahiva, one man dying during the trials of their passage. (See Chapter 12 for a more complete account of the *Congress.*)

Since their last fortunate lowering on October 1, 122 days had passed, days during which Melville and his shipmates saw sperm whales only twice and apparently took none of them. Instead of being still animated with hopes of a short, successful voyage, they must now have had haunting visions of endless huntings for their prey and have meditated darkly an ever-falling market back home where their oil, so hazardously captured, would continue to depreciate in value. The beginning of this cruise was anything but propitious. It was high time now for the *Acushnet* to move on to other whaling grounds, but before she could depart her enchanted locale she lay becalmed during the most part of three days, from February 1 to 3.

Between the South Head of Albemarle Island and the island of Nukahiva in the Marquesas Group there is a stretch of sea almost 3,000 miles in length without a single green spot of intervening land. Had the *Acushnet* sailed this distance directly, averaging no more than seven knots (a speed she certainly could have maintained), she could have made the passage in eighteen days. That she spent 141 days of tossing and pitching on the wide-rolling Pacific, of sailing on this tack and that, crossing and recrossing her earlier track before coming at length to snug harbor near the merry land attests to the determination and thoroughness with which her captain sought out leviathans.

During the first week after the *Acushnet* took leave of the Galápagos Islands, she put 500 miles of ocean behind her, reaching on February 9 the 100th meridian of west longitude, just above the fifth parallel south. Four days later and about a hundred miles farther west she fell in with sperm whales on a pleasant Sunday, and on the following Wednesday, when it was hazy, her mariners saw "white water" again. Such cheering events were to Captain Pease clear signals for a return to the pattern of endeavor that had characterized the cruise on the Off-Shore Ground during the previous year: careful searching back and forth within a limited area of sea. And so for the rest of the month, the *Acushnet*'s mariners resolutely but without reward hunted whales within a span of water stretching 90 miles north and south and 200 miles east and west. As if to confirm the similarity to her earlier cruise, the weather now turned foul, becoming once again rugged and squally.

The ship moved slowly westward. Just north of the Off-Shore Ground on Thursday, March 3, lookouts raised a solitary sperm whale in good weather. Six days later on the Ground, near the 109th meridian of west longitude, they saw a group of the whales swimming in a turbulent sea.

It is possible to speak only in general terms of the amount of success that attended these and later encounters with leviathans during this cruise; available evidence unfortunately does not permit us to know the precise outcome of each sighting. Eleven times during the 192 days of their sailing between Tumbez Roads and the island of Nukahiva, Captain Pease and his crew saw sperm whales.[37] On five of those occasions the weather was ideal for whaling. Two days were relatively favorable for the chase (the abstract log says "hazy weather"), but four of them were inauspicious (either "rugged" or "squally"). After leaving the Galápagos, Melville and his shipmates found, with an almost patterned regularity, the objects of their quest twice each month and on days close together. Although they saw whales about as frequently as they had during their cruising from Santa to Tumbez (147 days of sailing then, whales raised nine times), their luck during the first half of 1842 was in no wise comparable. This cruise yielded only 230 barrels of sperm oil,[38] the earlier one, 370 barrels. Even the days of their long passage from the United

States, round Cape Horn, to Peru rewarded them with 120 more barrels of oil than they took during this cruise. If, as he says in *Typee,* Melville "always had a presentiment that we should make an unfortunate voyage" (4:23), his experiences aboard the *Acushnet* in 1842 partially justified the expectation.

March was a stormy month, squally, rugged, or rainy more than half the time. Aloft at the topgallant crosstrees, the masthead standers kept miserable watches and on deck the men gloomily worked ship as the buffeted *Acushnet* ploughed slowly along, just north of the Off-Shore Ground. She reached the 115th meridian of west longitude in "thick rainy weather" on Friday, March 25.[39] Two days later, when the sun once more began to shine, the helmsman steered north. By the following Thursday, the *Acushnet* had crossed the Line.

Beginning Thursday, April 7, the *Acushnet* cruised for two weeks on a track roughly resembling a wishbone. She swept southward from the equator towards the upper limits of the Off-Shore Ground, ran into rain, and on a squally Tuesday, April 12, encountered sperm whales. Two days later she hauled to the north, and sailing near the Line on Monday, April 18, she fell in with leviathans once more and lowered her boats, this time in "fine weather."[40] By Wednesday she had recrossed the Line.

Pleasant equatorial trade winds urged the ship to move quickly towards the setting sun, but Captain Pease resisted the temptation. He allowed the *Acushnet* to make only 660 miles of westing during fifty-nine days (forty-five of them with pleasant or fine weather, one of them hazy, one squally, and twelve rugged) from April 20 through June 17. Most of that time the ship was, to use Melville's expression, "chassezing across the Line" (*Mardi,* 1:4) or sailing near it. Twice she made brief searches several hundred miles to the south, only to return and traverse "the self-same longitudinal intersection of the self-same Line" with sufficient frequency to urge upon Melville and his shipmates the conviction that they "felt the ship strike every time her keel crossed that imaginary locality" (*Mardi,* 1:4). It was just south of the Line that sperm whales were seen four times during this period: on Sunday, May 1, when it was squally, on the following Thursday in rugged weather, on Monday, June 6, a hazy day, and on Wednesday, June 8, in fine weather.

Although the ocean area of the *Acushnet*'s searching after she left the Galápagos Islands was usually much frequented by American whalers, record has been found of only five rival craft with which she met before she reached the Marquesas. Sailing in fine weather about 30 miles north of the Line and near the 127th meridian of west longitude on Monday, May 2, she spoke the *Ontario* of Nantucket, Captain Stephen B. Gibbs, a ship that after much success in whaling was soon to head for Tahiti and then homeward. Captain

Gibbs had the day before seen the *Columbus* of New Bedford, commanded by Captain Pease's youngest brother, Tristram Daggett Pease.[41] After this news was made known, masthead standers of the *Acushnet* were ordered to be on the alert for a small barque of 313 tons, rather old, with the sharp lines of a privateer.[42] That whaler was descried on Wednesday, May 4, in rugged weather: letters from the *Acushnet*'s mail pouch were delivered on board the *Columbus,* there was an exchange of boat's crews, and the companies of the two vessels relaxed and enjoyed a gam.[43]

The Captains Pease, who had not seen each other for nearly two years, had much to talk about. When the conversation turned to their current voyages, Melville's skipper had more luck to report than his brother. That luck had recently taken a decided turn for the worse, but the *Acushnet* had captured at least 100 more barrels of sperm oil than the *Columbus* had stowed down in twenty-three months.[44] As to the sailing qualities of the two craft, the *Columbus* might have been considered one of the fastest vessels in the fishery;[45] still the new *Acushnet* had bettered by more than three weeks her time around Cape Horn. Only one member of the crew of the *Acushnet* had deserted since her sailing from Fairhaven; ten of the *Columbus* mariners had jumped ship, and two had been discharged.[46]

In comparing the merits of the two brothers who were their leaders, the gamming foremast hands might have indulged in mutual grumbling. Although at least one of his men felt that Captain Tristram Pease was "a good and noble man,"[47] others in his crew could have insisted that he was every bit as stern a master as Melville's skipper. During the present voyage he had flogged one man;[48] a cruise in 1841 had been so prolonged that two of the crew had taken the scurvy; when his ship was in port, he never allowed his men more than one day of shore liberty.[49] Melville may have listened attentively to a yarn concerning the adventures of the men of the *Columbus* at Easter Island. Knowing that his crew would be unlikely to desert among cannibals, Captain Tristram Pease had brought his ship to that place to get provisions. He observed the usual precautions, taking two natives on board as hostages, putting down two boats, one heavily armed and under command of the first mate, the other carried in tow to do the trading. While the third mate was leading the loading of the second boat with fruit and vegetables, some of the natives cut the boat's tow line, and it began to drift towards shore.

Swimming around the drifting boat, a group of natives grasped the oars and attempted to climb aboard; others went under her and sought to drive holes in her bottom with sharp rocks. Because the first mate was evidently frightened and did nothing to prevent the boat's seizure, her crew had to fight off the natives with lances and oars. Meanwhile Captain Pease, about

two miles offshore, began to suspect treachery. When the hostages jumped overboard, he stood in towards the boats; but for the timely arrival of the *Columbus,* a good many of his men might have been killed.[50]

At Tahiti in June 1841 the mariners of the *Columbus* had found the condemned ship *Alexander Mansfield* of Hudson, New York—a whaler that Melville would mention nostalgically in *Omoo*[51]—and taking one of her masts had fitted it on Captain Pease's barque.[52] They had seen the native queen Pomaré (also to make her appearance in *Omoo*)[53] when she visited a group of the whalemen who were being tattooed. A green hand of the crew was unimpressed by the noble islander:

> She wore a slouching looking calico dress and, as near as I could tell, that was about all the clothing she did have on. She was tattooed from her hair down to her toe-nails, had no shoes nor bonnet nor head-gear; her long black hair had just been soaked in bad-smelling coacoanut [*sic*] oil, and on the whole her appearance was not a very prepossessing one to me. She sat down, watching the operation of tattooing a while, chatting with her maids about me and my white skin, and telling me how nice it was to be tattooed. She showed me her feet and lower portion of her legs, which were completely covered with tattooing, and I was glad to see her leave.[54]

During the second day of their sailing in company with the *Columbus,* probably after the pleasantries of gamming had been concluded and the two whalers had parted, lookouts of the *Acushnet* raised sperm whales in rugged weather.[55] Although the two craft were several times again within friendly hail and the captains perhaps talked by trumpet, idleness and jollity were not allowed to interrupt further the routine of their whalemen's labors. On Saturday, May 7, the *Acushnet* spoke the *Columbus* while the latter's tryworks were ablaze, boiling down a 21-barrel sperm whale (a small one) captured the day before. The tracks of these whalers crossed on Friday, May 20, and two weeks later they met for the last time during their current voyages.[56]

According to a journal of the *James Maury* of Salem, the *Acushnet* fell in at about this time with two Nantucket ships, the *Cyrus,* Captain Daniel Emmons, and the *Enterprise,* Captain George Cannon, but the only relevant detail given of their speakings was mention that the *Acushnet* reported 750 barrels of sperm oil.[57] That report presumably referred to the amount of oil on board. Near the end of her first cruise of 1842 Melville's ship encountered on Thursday, June 16, the *Herald* of New Bedford, Captain Nathaniel B. Nye, and Captain Pease announced that the *Acushnet* carried a cargo of 750 barrels of sperm oil and had sent home an additional 200 barrels.[58] His declaration indicated the entire amount of oil captured during Melville's days on the *Acushnet.* Of her total take, Melville's share was 171 gallons, about five and a

half barrels. At the market price of $1.05 the gallon when he sailed, his earnings would have totalled $179.55, or about ten dollars a month, before the deduction of whatever advance he had received at Fairhaven. But recent, discouraging word of the state of the home market must have made him know that his share in the profits of the voyage was worth a great deal less than that amount.[59] So far from home and with no means of quick communication, he and his shipmates were spared for a while the more disheartening news that in June 1842 sperm oil was bringing only 68 cents a gallon, a drop of 37 cents in value since they had left the United States.[60]

Through the long period of a whaling voyage to the South Seas, a ship in its vigilant sweeping of the ocean might cruise day after day, and sometimes week after week, before encountering sperm whales. If a ship took whales four or five times each month and averaged capturing 60 barrels or so of oil, her mariners usually felt that things were going well.

The complement of a whaler formed a joint stock company in which the pecuniary reward of all members, high or low, depended upon the common luck of the voyage. Upon that common luck depended also their disposition and behavior. If a ship's company was fairly congenial, if the chance meetings with whales were reasonably frequent and on days of good weather, and if the lowerings were rewarding, then the monotony, peril, and hard labor of the voyage were bearable. Otherwise the duty, especially for foremast hands, could quickly become intolerable. In 1842 while his ship was experiencing a run of dull times, the mate of a whaler remarked sententiously in his journal: "Good success has been known to turn the brain and bad luck certainly changes the disposition of man or to say the least brings forth many unpleasant traits which otherwise might lay dormant."[61] When a cruise was characterized by misfortune in whaling, it was not unusual for the company of a ship to become short-tempered and contentious, for the captain and his officers to wield their authority with increased and sometimes brutal severity, keeping the crew occupied with additional shipboard duties and occasionally maltreating (or "working up") persons whom they disliked, or for the men to become surly and rebellious.

Even among ships making good voyages during the years when Melville was a whaleman, a completely harmonious company of blubber-hunters, led by a benign captain, was sufficiently rare to merit special attention in the newspapers:

> *To all whom it may concern*—To the credit of Master and Crew of the Young Phoenix, let it be known, that since the ship sailed, nearly three years since, not a man has run away, and not one has been flogged; yet good discipline has always been maintained.[62]

Logbooks, consular reports, and news stories of the 1840s give the impression that a great many foremast hands were rough and unruly, indisposed to abide by even the necessary routine discipline of their ships, and that too few whaling masters ruled their quarterdecks with benevolence. It is not surprising that such should be the case. The men who engaged as whale killers made the longest of contemporary voyages. Living together month after month at sea, twenty or thirty of them in the crowded confines of a small ship, enduring a tasteless regimen which was broken now and then by an exciting and hazardous chase after leviathans and a period of unremitting toil in the ship's butchery and at her refinery, surviving on a diet unvaried and often unpalatable, they would have been remarkable creatures indeed had they not been given to fits of irritability or worse.

During several whaling voyages of this period there were instances of unusual violence: mutinies aboard the *Omega* of Nantucket,[63] the *Herald* of Fairhaven,[64] the *United States* of Westport,[65] and the *Vineyard* of Edgartown;[66] the flogging of a man to death by the master of the *Sharon* of Fairhaven;[67] and the murder of the first mate of the *Nassau* of New Bedford by an angry foremast hand.[68] Many a less dramatic voyage had its troublesome personnel problems, too. Witness the experiences of a God-fearing master, Captain Allen Brownell of the *Mars* of New Bedford:[69]

> [February 14, 1842] this morning the Steward began a row with Mr Thompson I went up to stil him but got every kind of insolence from him threatening to maim and cripple the Mate seised him in rigging until after breakfast put on the Irons and sent him down in the steerage.
>
> [February 15, 1842] seised the Steward up not so turbulent as yesterday but would make no promises of going to duty until he got 1 1/2 Doz [lashes] promised to go to his duty and behave him self sent him in the fore castle to do duty as a sailor
>
> [March 21, 1843] at day light while makeing sail Frederick O'Donnel atacked the Cooper and abused the Mate called him aft to inquire what he meant by such conduct he said he would strike any man on board went to take hold of him and he struck me and run forward armed him self with a mincing knife and a sheath knife said he would kill the first man that touched [him] shut the hatches and smoked him out and put him in Irons Royal Goodenow and John Wright said they would do no more duty put them in irons.

Although Captain Reuben S. Sayer of the *Martha* of Fairhaven had his cook and two seamen flogged on February 22, 1842, for fighting with handspikes,[70] the lesson was not sufficient for his crew:

> [August 28, 1842] John Kelly and Miciret poor got to fighting tyed them to gether and let them have it so ends. . . . John Kelly run into the forecastle and drew a knife and threatened to kill the first man that came or near him.*
>
> [footonote] *we undertook to break out the fore hold and he came up and consented to be tyed to poor the hand undertook to help him but got frightened at the pistols

During the following year Captain Sayer was threatened by the steward of his ship:

> [February 1, 1843] At 7 AM steward Thomas Place was abusive and told the Capt that he would do as he was a Mind to and did not care whether we got another drop of oil or not and hoped to god we should not and had been so here to fore put him in irons he said if he was on the Main Deck he would tell him just what he thought of him.
>
> [February 2, 1843] at 10 the Capt went down in the Cabbin and found the steward up in the pantry joining the Cabbin and told him to go down into the run again he said he that wanted to set up there awhile the Capt told him that he should sit up there when he liked for him to the steward then told him that he would not go down for him nor any other man he then took hold of him to help him down and the steward Clinched him and told the Capt he would kill him he then called Me and the second Mate and we put him down he acted like a Mad Man in his passion we [closed] the hatch for fear he would kill some of us he told the Capt he would do no more [duty] while he was on board we are bound on off shore ground . . . but shall have to run greatly out of our [way] for him.
>
> [February 3, 1843] he now wants to come on duty and says he will behave well but we dared not let him out he has threatened so.
>
> [February 4, 1843] at 10 took the Steward out of irons and let him go to his duty he promised to do better so ends.

Even though members of the crew rose "with sheath knives and fists" upon the master and second mate of the *Martha* and struck them several times on June 29, 1844, Captain Sayer was able to maintain his command of the quarter-deck. Two months later he "put Joseph Rodgers into the rigging and flogged him for giving sauce."[71]

Sometimes the friction between officer and man aboard whale ships terminated pathetically. A crew member of the *Tybee* of Stonington who refused to do duty and was insolent to his captain ultimately became deranged:[72]

> [October 1, 1842] Captn Swan told Charles Wiliams a man that we shiped at the Bay of Islands to fix his thoal pines [thole pins] and he Refused to Do it he said he had Rather go in Irons then Captn Swan told him he would put him in and tried on Some hand Cuffes but thai wold not fit he told Captan Swan he was no Gentleman and used much Abusive Languig in My presence after that he said he wold go to his Dutey and Did. . . . at 10 AM. Saw Some Whales the Orders were given by Capten Swan to lore Down the boates and Charles Wiliams told Capten Swan he wold not go in the boat and he wold not Obey Orders Capten Swan had hand cufs Made and put him in.
>
> [October 6, 1842] Charles Wiliams wished to have his libertey and said he Willing to go to his Dutey and Captn Swan had the Irons taken off and told him to go to his Dutey and behave him Self hear after.
>
> [June 12, 1843] at 7 PM one of the Men by the name of Charles Wiliams was taken Crasey and not feeling Safe to let him go at large about the Ship we put hand Cufes on him and Chaned him he apeared to be in great Rage Saing that we were Murdres and Cring out Murder when No one was teching him at 10 AM as Wiliams did not Come to him Self the Captin thought best to blister his head.
>
> [June 13, 1843] Charles Wiliams a little more Rashenel.

Reaching a coral island later in the month, Captain Swan "Left Charles Wiliams on Shore with his Clothes in Care of a Cheaf."

In all justice to these and many other whaling captains it must be remembered that, without the protection of a large body of armed supporters, they administered punishments no more severe than those imposed aboard men-of-war, and that once recalcitrant seamen were repentant and agreed to do their duty, they were promptly returned to the forecastle. Furthermore, the vigor with which seamen often resisted the orders of their officers militated against any disposition toward serene and charitable leadership. On other scores, however, the whaling masters seem to have been more at fault.

Along with the depositions of several members of the crew of the *Globe* of Nantucket, concerning the terrible mutiny aboard that craft in 1824, Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaiso, sent to the secretary of state a vigorous letter of transmittal that inveighed against certain practices of the fishery:

> It does not appear that there was cause to complain of the Captain of this Ship, which is uncommon, for in Justice to truth my experience for upwards

> of three Years in this Port has proved to my conviction that the Masters of Merchant Ships trading here are oftener in error than the Sailors, who by severe inconsiderate and unfeeling treatment are driven to insubordination and desertion, then by a residence in the Heart of all Sorts of Vice become destitute of whatever good natural qualities they formerly possessed.
>
> Masters promise much at home, in order to get a Crew, but never perform abroad. If a Consul insists on any thing in favour of a Sailor or in obedience to the Laws laid down on the Articles, He is considered an enemy to the Captain, it is reported to all other Captains and Super Cargoes, and particularly if a Trading Consul [one who augments his income by selling supplies to visiting captains] his opponents magnify his interference into great errors. They become a posse against him and he suffers.—I speak feelingly and with truth, but no fear of their frowns nor hope of their favours shall ever induce me to change from the course of supporting to the best of my power and abilities the measures best calculated to insure an obedience to our Laws Laws [*sic*] and protect the credit of our Country against any who for mere Lucre would destroy it.[73]

In August 1841 Stanhope Prevost, United States Consul at Lima, became disturbed at the necessity of his following the letter of the law and permitting actions that he felt were "harsh and inhuman."[74] Cases were constantly arising, he wrote the secretary of state, of friction between masters and crews of whalers that began with men refusing to do duty and ended "in their being discharged, or left on shore destitute and almost naked; the Captains refusing to give up their clothes on ground of the articles being worded that 'in case of disobedience &c they do forfeit their shares, together with all their goods, chattels &c aboard said ship.'"[75] Later in the year he again wrote his home office, this time commenting upon the fact that when whaling vessels had captured one-third to one-half of their cargoes of oil, desertions became quite frequent.

> I feel persuaded that it is with many masters a systematic scheme to get work for nothing; and to so treat, or rather maltreat the men, after they have a considerable quantity of oil secured, as to induce them to desert, and thus forfeit their share to the vessel + owners; which, as shipping articles are now worded, is the natural consequence.
>
> Whether this suspicion be correct or not, it is evident that the temptation to this course is Strong; and particularly where the masters are, as they often are, part owners. That this conduct is however prevalent to a considerable extent in all merchant service, and particularly where the men are shipped on shares, I have little doubt; and I have also seen enough to be convinced that it is a charge that will rarely, if ever, be brought home to any individual master's door—and consequently, the protection required by

> the unfortunate sailor is to be found in preventive rather than in corrective enaction.[76]

That Consul Prevost's suspicion was not without foundation is indicated by the contemporary experiences of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., commander of the United States Exploring Expedition:

> Many Americans are found on the different islands, who have been turned ashore from whale-ships, or left because they have broken their liberty a single time, near the end of a voyage. Such treatment leaves too much ground to believe that they are purposely left, in order to increase the profits of the ship-masters or owners. Several of these men were received, in a perfectly destitute condition, on board the Vincennes; others were taken out of prison, and all related many of the difficulties and troubles they had to encounter on board the ship to which they were attached; although I am not generally disposed to place much reliance on their statements, yet it cannot but happen that out of so many cases there must be some in which the seamen were in the right.[77]

In light of these existing conditions in the fishery, of the *Acushnet*'s luck beginning to run thin, and of her men being apprised of the falling price of oil at home, how did Melville and his fellow mariners fare during this protracted cruise? Certainly the *Acushnet* could hardly be described as a "happy" ship, for at her next recruiting port five of the men would attempt to desert and two of them would succeed. Before the year's end First Mate Raymond and Third Mate Galvan would quarrel with Captain Pease and be discharged, and two more of the men would jump ship.

Captain Vangs, skipper of the whaler *Dolly* in *Typee,* has been supposed, and perhaps correctly, to be a representation of Captain Pease in transparent fictional guise. In the book he is described as maintaining vengeful, unmitigated tyranny over a submissive crew that was "with a very few exceptions . . . composed of a parcel of dastardly and mean-spirited wretches" (*Typee,* 4:21), of using the butt end of a hand-spike to enforce his violent will, of feeding his men inadequately, of allowing the sick to be neglected, and of taking his men on unreasonably long cruises. There are no intimate records of happenings aboard the *Acushnet* in 1842 to tell just how appropriate to Captain Pease are these strictures in *Typee,* but evidences of his behavior during the *Houqua* voyage of 1831–35 suggest that they are relevant and probably not exaggerated. A whaling master who on a previous voyage had issued inadequate allowances of food to his men, who had not kept a man with frostbitten feet off duty, who had ill-treated a boatsteerer, and who had sometimes sent his men on

whale hunts without previously giving them anything to eat—such a captain was not likely, after the passage of seven to eleven years, to have mended his ways and become an amiable lord of the plank.

In several respects Melville's first year and a half as a whaling foremast hand must have been disappointing and disillusioning. If he had sought remunerative employment, he could not expect—now that depression had come to the industry—to receive more than a beggarly reward for his labors. Any ambitions he might have cherished of rising quickly and advantageously in the occupation of whaling because of his technical training and previous seagoing experience must have been shattered when he saw an illiterate sailor promoted from the ranks to the position of boatsteerer. If he had sought escape at sea from a land that had been indifferent to his talents and needs, he must have found a good measure of resentment and discontent in his servitude to a sweated industry.

On the other hand, there were undoubted allurements to the calling he had followed. On the first cruise of 1842 there was surely exhilaration, excitement, and danger in the eleven or so lowerings for leviathans. There were pleasant moonlight watches, too, that Melville and his friend Toby Greene passed together on the decks of the *Acushnet* as they "whiled away the hours with yarn and song till 'eight bells.'"[78] In Toby and Henry L. Hubbard, cousin and fellow townsman respectively of the governor of New Hampshire, Melville found at least two literate and sympathetic companions. From the vantage point of the topgallant crosstrees he had langorously surveyed the wide-rolling ocean and had indulged in satisfying hours of contemplation. And during gams with other whalers there had been occasion for relaxation and jollity. But in 1842 these experiences were lesser parts of a pattern of realistic existence in which monotony, hard work, and rebellious thralldom bulked large. After a year and a half of serving under Captain Pease, Melville was ready to desert the *Acushnet,* however inglorious and illegal that action might be. In the beautiful, green, savage island of Nukahiva he would find a most tempting avenue of escape.

The passage of the *Acushnet* from the whaling grounds to her anchorage in Taiohae Bay at Nukahiva was much more abbreviated and less romantically lackadaisical than that pictured in *Typee:*

> I can never forget the eighteen or twenty days during which the light trade-winds were silently sweeping us towards the islands. In pursuit of the sperm whale, we had been cruizing on the line some twenty degrees to the westward of the Gallipagos; and all that we had to do, when our course was determined on, was to square in the yards and keep the vessel before the

> breeze, and then the good ship and the steady gale did the rest between them. The man at the wheel never vexed the old lady with any superfluous steering, but comfortably adjusting his limbs at the tiller, would doze away by the hour. . . .
>
> What a delightful, lazy, languid time we had whilst we were thus gliding along! There was nothing to be done; a circumstance that happily suited our disinclination to do anything. We abandoned the fore-peak altogether, and spreading an awning over the forecastle, slept, ate, and lounged under it the live-long day. Every one seemed to be under the influence of some narcotic. . . . Reading was out of the question; take a book in your hand, and you were asleep in an instant.
>
> Although I could not avoid yielding in a great measure to the general languor, still at times I contrived to shake off the spell, and to appreciate the beauty of the scene around me. The sky presented a clear expanse of the most delicate blue, except along the skirts of the horizon, where you might see a thin drapery of pale clouds which never varied their form or color. The long, measured, dirge-like swell of the Pacific came rolling along, with its surface broken by little tiny waves, sparkling in the sunshine. . . . Far off, the lofty jet of the whale might be seen,[79] and nearer at hand the prowling shark, that villainous footpad of the seas, would come skulking along, and, at a wary distance, regard us with his evil eye. At times, some shapeless monster of the deep, floating on the surface, would, as we approached, sink slowly into the blue waters, and fade away from the sight. But the most impressive feature of the scene was the almost unbroken silence that reigned over sky and water. Scarcely a sound could be heard but the occasional breathing of the grampus, and the rippling at the cut-water.
>
> As we drew nearer the land, I hailed with delight the appearance of innumerable sea-fowl. . . . Soon, other evidences of our vicinity to the land were apparent, and it was not long before the glad announcement of its being in sight was heard from aloft,—given with that peculiar prolongation of sound that a sailor loves—"Land ho!" (2:9–10)

Instead of making a leisurely passage of eighteen to twenty days, sailing westward before the wind across some 1,800 miles of ocean as did the fictional *Dolly* of *Typee,* the *Acushnet,* in latitude 00°15' north, 134°20' west longitude at noon on Friday, June 17, hauled to the southwest and accomplished her progress to Nukahiva in six days. Her last whales had been sighted on June 8, but for nine more days she had continued searching along the Line.

During Friday and Saturday the weather was rugged, but the next four days were mostly fair and sunny. While making the last 95 miles of her run, the ship passed through a squall, and for a time her mariners could but dimly see ahead the rocky promontories of Nukahiva. At noon on Thursday,

June 23, the *Acushnet* was two miles south of Cape Martin, a lofty headland of the isle. By then the skies had cleared and a gently breeze was blowing from the northwest.[80] As they sailed along the shore, Melville and his shipmates caught glimpses of blooming valleys, deep glens, waterfalls, and waving groves. Sweeping between two sentinel rocks guarding the narrow passage to a smooth basin of water eight to nine miles in circumference, the ship moved into Taiohae Bay.

CHAPTER 15

Authentic Eden in a Pagan Sea

> The Marquesas! What strange visions of outlandish things does the very name spirit up! Naked houris—cannibal banquets—groves of cocoa-nut—coral reefs—tatooed chiefs—and bamboo temples; sunny valleys planted with bread-fruit trees—carved canoes dancing on the flashing blue waters—savage woodlands guarded by horrible idols—*heathenish rites and human sacrifices.*
>
> —*Typee,* Chapter 1

> The view of the entrance of the bay is beautiful, far surpassing anything I have noticed in these seas; and although rugged, isolated masses of rock here and there start up, to add their sombre effect to the otherwise brilliant tints of the landscape, still the luxuriance of the slopes and valleys . . . produces a sensation which cannot be justly entrusted to pen or pencil. If one did not associate gentle slopes and levels with our ideas of paradise, I should say this is it.
>
> —Sir Edward Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World . . . 1836–1842* (1843), vol. 1, 353

Soon after his ship entered Taiohae Bay, Melville tells us in *Typee,* a South Sea island vagabond—an Englishman jovially and almost helplessly inebriated—came alongside in a whaleboat and insisted on piloting the craft to her anchorage.[1] He got aboard only after receiving considerable assistance at the gangway, and once on deck he had much difficulty in standing. Despite the refusal of Melville's captain to accept his services, he floundered into the weather quarter boat, steadied himself by grasping a shroud, and began glibly issuing nautical directions. And so, hearing at once the commands of their determined skipper and those of this voluble, wildly gesturing newcomer, Melville and his shipmates worked the whaler into port.

This strange visitor to the *Acushnet* may well have been one of two English pilots, Charles Lovell or Lawrence Hutchinson, both of whom had figured notoriously in island affairs during recent years. But for the intervention of an American naval officer in righting the troubles caused by these men in 1841, Captain Pease might not have brought the *Acushnet* and Herman Melville to Nukahiva during the following year.

Under orders from Commodore Alexander Claxton to "ascertain the sentiment of the Natives towards our whale fishery-men, who are reported to have suffered outrage if not captivity when resorting there for refreshment,"[2] Commodore French Forrest of the sloop-of-war *St. Louis* visited Nukahiva in February 1841. He discovered that Taiohae Bay, once a popular place of call for whale ships, had recently been nearly abandoned by them as a consequence of open warfare between the two harbor pilots, Lovell and Hutchinson. Placing themselves at the head of different parties of foreigners and natives, these two Englishmen fought violently for the exclusive right of directing the traffic of the port. Visiting whalemen had been prevented from obtaining supplies and had been menaced whenever they went ashore. Commander Forrest arrested the two pilots as well as nine seamen who were among the troublemakers. He kept the seamen prisoners aboard the *St. Louis* but set the pilots free after they signed a formal agreement to be friendly towards each other and the natives and to perform their duties alternately. Tranquillity restored, Commander Forrest sailed on February 17, 1841. Thereafter American whalers once more frequented the harbor.

Charles Lovell could not keep out of trouble. On March 11, 1841, he "accidentally shot dead" Samuel Waggoner, one of the mates of the New Bedford ship *George*.[3] No mention, dramatic or otherwise, has been found of him after the date of this incident. Lawrence Hutchinson, who was still leading craft into Taiohae Bay in 1843,[4] may therefore have been the pilot who boarded Melville's ship.

The *Typee* account describes a flotilla of noisy savages following the drunken Englishman out to the ship in outrigger canoes and several swimming natives who propelled floating bunches of coconuts towards the whaler.[5] Not knowing that women were forbidden from using canoes, Melville was struck by their absence in the group of islanders who scrambled up the side of his ship. But as he looked towards the land, he saw about a mile and a half away a commotion in the water and learned from one of the natives that it was made by a shoal of young Nukahivan girls who were coming off to welcome the mariners.

> As they drew nearer, and I watched the rising and sinking of their forms, and beheld the uplifted right arm bearing above the water the girdle of tappa, and their long dark hair trailing beside them as they swam, I almost fancied they could be nothing else than so many mermaids:—and very like mermaids they behaved too.
>
> We were still some distance from the beach, and under slow headway, when we sailed right into the midst of these swimming nymphs, and they boarded us at every quarter; many seizing hold of the chain-plates and springing into the chains; others, at the peril of being run over by the vessel

> in her course, catching at the bob-stays, and wreathing their slender forms about the ropes, hung suspended in the air. All of them at length succeeded in getting up the ship's side, where they clung dripping with the brine and glowing from the bath, their jet-black tresses streaming over their shoulders, and half enveloping their otherwise naked forms. There they hung, sparkling with savage vivacity, laughing gaily at one another, and chattering away with infinite glee. Nor were they idle the while, for each one performed the simple offices of the toilette for the other. Their luxuriant locks, wound up and twisted into the smallest possible compass, were freed from the briny element; the whole person carefully dried, and from a little round shell that passed from hand to hand, anointed with a fragrant oil: their adornments were completed by passing a few loose folds of white tappa, in a modest cincture, around the waist. Thus arrayed they no longer hesitated, but flung themselves lightly over the bulwarks, and were quickly frolicking about the decks. Many of them went forward, perching upon the head-rails or running out upon the bowsprit, while others seated themselves upon the taffrail, or reclined at full length upon the boats. What a sight for us bachelor sailors! how avoid so dire a temptation? For who could think of tumbling these artless creatures overboard, when they had swam miles to welcome us?
>
> Their appearance perfectly amazed me; their extreme youth, the light clear brown of their complexions, their delicate features, and inexpressibly graceful figures, their softly moulded limbs, and free unstudied action, seemed as strange as beautiful.
>
> The 'Dolly' was fairly captured; and never I will say was vessel carried before by such a dashing and irresistible party of boarders! The ship taken, we could not do otherwise than yield ourselves prisoners, and for the whole period that she remained in the bay, the 'Dolly,' as well as her crew, were completely in the hands of the mermaids. . . .
>
> Our ship was now wholly given up to every species of riot and debauchery. Not the feeblest barrier was interposed between the unholy passions of the crew and their unlimited gratification. . . . Alas for the poor savages when exposed to the influence of these polluting examples! Unsophisticated and confiding, they are easily led into every vice, and humanity weeps over the ruin thus remorselessly inflicted upon them by their European civilizers. Thrice happy are they who, inhabiting some yet undiscovered island in the midst of the ocean, have never been brought into contaminating contact with the white man. (2:14–15)

The authenticity of *Typee* as a faithful narrative of fact must be questioned at a number of points, but there is ample reason to believe this incident as Melville recounts it. Eleven days after the *Acushnet* came to Nukahiva, another whaleship, the *Potomac,* entered Taiohae Bay, and soon "the decks were crowded with Kanackas mostly girls swimming off like schools of porpoises."[6] As far back as 1804, when Georg H. von Langsdorff visited the isle, native

girls of Nukahiva no less beautiful and seductive than those described by Melville were clambering aboard visiting ships and with pantomimic gestures giving sailors "to understand that they were making . . . the most liberal and unreserved offers of their charms."[7] During a stay at Nukahiva in 1826, Midshipman Thomas J. Harris, serving in the sloop-of-war *Peacock,* made similar observations:

> [July 25, 1826] I have forgotten to mention that we received a visit . . . last evening, from 18 or 20 young females of 14 or 16 years of age, who swam off to the ship completely naked, except a small sprig of orange tree, drawn round the middle to conceal that part of the body which decency required to be covered—Even this covering was only temporary, or until they received a better one from the person who had them in Keeping for the night. a Silk Handkerchief or a yard of Linen was as valuable a present as they expected to receive.
>
> [July 26, 1826] In the evening we were again visited by the females, upwards of 90 of whom swam on board—
>
> [July 28, 1826] This evening upwards of 190 females swam on board—
>
> [July 31, 1826] When the females visited the ship, which they never failed to do every evening, sometimes to the number of 190—they threw aside all articles of clothing even to the Tappa, in place of which they made use of a sprig of orange tree, or other bush, expecting no doubt to receive a present of a better one, viz. a piece of sheet or a yard of linen, and they were seldom disappointed—[8]

By 1842 the practice had become sufficiently well established to trouble the thoughts of the French colonial leader in the Pacific Ocean. Writing the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies in August 1842, Rear Admiral Abel Dupetit-Thouars raised the question of whether the French should continue to permit Marquesan girls to go aboard visiting ships. The admiral suggested that immediate abolition of the custom might bring dangerous consequences; the missionaries, he felt, should be able to remedy the situation in time.[9]

In view of the prohibitory regulations set down in the shipping articles of the *Acushnet* and considering the behavior of his brother, Captain Tristram Pease, when the barque *Columbus* was visited by Marquesan women later in 1842, one wonders how Captain Valentine Pease, Jr., regarded the Polynesian nymphs who took possession of his whaler. According to recollections of a green hand of the *Columbus,* when that craft arrived at the Marquesas Islands, "quite a number of young women and men swum off to our ship, most of them in a nude state."

> These natives after getting on board, and particularly the female portion of them, were very free and easy, all over the ship, begging presents from all hands until they became so familiar and friendly that our captain, who was raised in New England, and was a God fearing man, could stand it no longer, and ordered the decks cleared at once, not to stand on the order of their going but to go immediately. They went over the side of the vessel like sheep over a stone wall, and when the girls came to the surface of the water, one little chubby female swam up to the captain, who was looking over the rail, and said to him; "Cappy, cappy, when it come dark we come see you, bring orange and have some fun." The captain gave strict orders to the officers not to allow them to come on board, but before 9 o'clock there was at least thirty females on board, some of them bringing fruit as an excuse to trade.[10]

Bearing her sea-weary mariners, a bizarre, unwanted pilot, beautiful island girls, and noisy native traders, the *Acushnet* "came to anchor in Nookaheva Bay in 9 fathoms" shortly before four o'clock on Thursday afternoon, June 23.[11] Nearby lay one American whaler, the *Nile* of New Bedford, Captain Edwin F. Cook,[12] three French men-of-war, *La Reine Blanche, La Boussole,* and *La Triomphante,* and one French merchantman, *Le Jules César.*[13]

All the natural beauty and grandeur of this isle was spoiled for Melville in 1842 by the incongruous, disturbing sight of black-hulled men-of-war, their bristling broadsides pointed towards the land. "There they were, floating in that lovely bay, the green eminences of the shore looking down so tranquilly upon them, as if rebuking the sternness of their aspect," he writes in *Typee.* "To my eye nothing could be more out of keeping than the presence of these vessels; but we soon learnt what brought them there. The whole group of islands had just been taken possession by Rear Admiral Du Petit Thouars, in the name of the invincible French nation" (2:12). In Chapter 3 of the first edition of *Typee* Melville bitterly attacks the French occupation of the Marquesas. He declares the action a "cavalier appropriation," "a signal infraction of the rights of humanity," and denounces the "shameless subterfuges" of the French, "their iniquitous conduct in this and in other matters," "the enormity" of frightening with the cannon of warships "a parcel of naked heathen into subjection!" The Nukahivans, he felt, looked upon the French "with mingled feelings of fear and detestation," observing their display of military pomp and precision "with savage admiration at the show, and as savage a hatred of the actors" (3:16–17).

Inasmuch as white men—and by no means the French exclusively—ultimately brought disease and ruin to a superb race of Pacific islanders, Melville's general attacks in *Typee* upon the "civilisers" were certainly justified, but his statements against the French actions he witnessed in 1842 were more vituperative than the occasion warranted. Actually, as nineteenth-century impe-

rialistic ventures went, that of the French in occupying the Marquesas Islands was characterized by an attitude unusually considerate and understanding of the rights and customs of the peoples of whose lands they took possession. In instructions given by the French government to Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, commandant of the Pacific Station, and those passed on by him to captain Jan Benoit-Amédée Collet, commandant of the northwestern group of the Marquesas Islands, the naval leaders who took the archipelago were told to maintain a policy of "conciliation et de douceur" (conciliation and sensitivity) and to avoid unnecessary bloodshed.[14] The island chiefs were to be won over with concessions, presents, and "des procédés humains et généreux" (humane and generous dealings) rather than by force. By not interfering with the customs and habits of the islanders or their domestic affairs and trading practices with visiting whalers, the French hoped to inspire in the Marquesans love and devotion for Louis-Philippe and to hasten their civilization. Such a benign attitude was to be backed by firmness. In setting up a proper establishment at Nukahiva, the French were to erect a fort that would be defended by a sizeable garrison of strictly disciplined sailors and marines; and to protect further against possible attack, at least one man-of-war was to be kept at all times in the bay. That this mission was accomplished in the 1840s with intelligence and kindliness is amply documented by reports of the French navy.

Although at least one American whale-hunter who was a contemporary visitor at Nukahiva thought that "the French intend to make a sort of Botany Bay of this place,"[15] the plans of the government of Louis-Philippe in 1842 were principally to give "un point d'appui" (base) to the French whalers that cruised in nearby waters and to provide "un lieu de relache commode et sur" (a convenient and secure place to relax) to their merchantmen going from the west coasts of the Americas to China or to other islands in the Pacific Ocean.[16]

Sailing from Valparaiso in late March 1842 at the head of a squadron consisting of his flagship, the frigate *La Reine Blanche,* three corvettes, *La Boussole, L'Embuscade,* and *La Triomphante,* and a transport, *Le Bucéphale,* Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars had made an imposing progress through the Marquesas Islands.[17] He took formal possession of Santa Christina (Tahuata) on May 1 and of La Dominica (Hiva Oa) on May 5. At Nukahiva in the Bay of Taiohae on May 31, Moana, king of the Teiis, and five of the principal island chiefs signed a declaration, recognizing the sovereignty of Louis-Philippe, promising fidelity and amity, and asking that the tri-colored flag of France fly over their isle and be protected by a French garrison.[18] By June 2, when leaders of three tribes met with the admiral at Mount Tuhiva, ceremonies were concluded at Nukahiva.[19]

To win the allegiance of Moana, in whose domain the French erected

their seat of colonial government, Dupetit-Thouars made gifts of clothing—a red uniform, a pair of epaulets, shirts, trousers, and so on—and furniture for a "petite maison à l'européenne" (a small European-style house) which the native ruler planned to build.[20] Moana's loyalty was further insured by the restitution of his wife, the beautiful, remarkably tattooed queen Taiooko (or Vaekehu), held hostage by natives of the bay of Taioa.[21] Proceeding in his gig to this bay on June 9, the admiral was accorded a surprising welcome by the Taioas. He found the French flag waving over the house of one of the chiefs and the natives amicably disposed towards his mission. Taiooko seemed less cheerful about returning to Moana but agreed to do so after some persuasion on the part of François de Paule Baudichon, the Catholic missionary from Santa Christina. In the afternoon the admiral took Taiooko back to Taiohae Bay, feeling that he had achieved an important diplomatic victory, for the queen was a daughter of a Taipi chief, and this action, accomplished without bloodshed, promised peace to three great tribes of the island.[22]

For Moana, the partially civilized king of the Teiis, and his French supporters Melville had only vehement scorn:

> On some flimsy pretext or other Mowanna, the king of Nukuheva, whom the invaders by extravagant presents have cajoled over to their interests, and move about like a mere puppet, has been set up as the rightful sovereign of the entire island,—the alleged ruler by prescription of various clans who for ages perhaps have treated with each other as separate nations. To reinstate this much-injured prince in the assumed dignities of his ancestors, the disinterested strangers have come all the way from France: they are determined that his title shall be acknowledged. If any tribe shall refuse to recognise the authority of the French, by bowing down to the laced chapeau of Mowanna, let them abide the consequences of their obstinacy. (*Typee,* 3:18)

Melville apparently misunderstood the intentions of the French. By paying lipservice to Moana's titular claims they were willing enough to humor the native ruler, but after fulfilling their promise to force the Taioas to make peace and return his wife, they displayed no inclination to fight his wars or force hostile tribes to bow to his authority. Unlike previous visitors to Nukahiva in men-of-war, Dupetit-Thouars had persuaded Moana and other native chiefs to acknowledge the sovereignty of a foreign king. The French were interested in maintaining the authority of Louis-Philippe and in keeping the peace. Reports of their commandant indicate that they considered the islanders subjects of France but recognized the autonomy of separate tribes.[23]

Arriving in the *Acushnet* three weeks after the French had taken possession of Nukahiva, Melville witnessed during at least seventeen days their busy activities on shore. He saw launches and boats moving daily from ship

to ship, carrying workmen and liberty parties to the land, and unloading supplies from the merchantman *Le Jules César.* For the young whale-killer who in little more than a year would be an ordinary seaman in the United States Navy there was opportunity to observe the routine and discipline of men-of-war. Every Sunday captain's inspection was held aboard the ships, and on weekdays sailors were occasionally exercised at the guns.[24] Melville noted the critically correct appearance of the officers in their colorful uniforms, resplendent with gold lace and embroidery.[25] Whenever a ship of the squadron came to the bay from another island, he heard a ceremonious thirteen-gun salute in honor of Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars.

Ashore he saw the encampment of tents at the foot of Mount Tuhiva, where some two hundred men were erecting Fort Collet, the fortification that would be headquarters for the French commandant on the island. Every other day on a level plot of ground nearby, marines and sailors executed by the hour precise military evolutions. The behavior of the French at Nukahiva, as Melville states in *Typee,* created a sensation among the natives of the isle.[26] A blacksmith's forge inspired them with awe, but their fancy was most taken by a stallion brought to the island on June 7 by *Le Jules César.*[27] At first the "pouaca piki kenana" (pig that carries a man)[28] frightened them when he was ridden at full speed along the beach by a French officer; later, when he was presented to Moana, who soon became a daring equestrian, this fine animal was an object of much pride to the Teiis.

It was during the recruiting period of his ship at Nukahiva, according to the testimony of *Typee,* that Melville, his captain, and a group of foremast hands went by whaleboat to trade with natives of the bay of Taioa. Arriving at noon on an intensely hot day, Melville jumped ashore and "plunged, diver fashion, into the recesses of the first grove that offered."

> How shall I describe the scenery that met my eye, as I looked out from this verdant recess! The narrow valley, with its steep and close adjoining sides draperied with vines, and arched overhead with a fret-work of interlacing boughs, nearly hidden from view by masses of leafy verdure, seemed from where I stood like an immense arbor disclosing its vista to the eye, whilst as I advanced it insensibly widened into the loveliest vale eye ever beheld.
>
> It so happened that the very day I was in Tior [Taioa] the French admiral, attended by all the boats of his squadron, came down in state from Nukuheva to take formal possession of the place. He remained in the valley about two hours, during which time he had a ceremonious interview with the king. . . . The admiral came forward with head uncovered and extended hand, while the old king saluted him by a stately flourish of his weapon. The next moment they stood side by side, these two extremes of the social scale,—the polished, splendid Frenchman, and the poor tattooed savage.

> They were both tall and noble-looking men; but in other respects how strikingly contrasted! Du Petit Thouars exhibited upon his person all the paraphernalia of his naval rank. He wore a richly decorated admiral's frock-coat, a laced chapeau bras, and upon his breast were a variety of ribbons and orders; while the simple islander, with the exception of a slight cincture about his loins, appeared in all the nakedness of nature. (4:28–29)

This novel spectacle, one which Melville said he was unlikely ever to forget, he may have witnessed on Wednesday, July 6, three days before he deserted the *Acushnet.* Paying the only visit that he made to the Taioas during the stay of Melville's ship at Nukahiva, Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars left *La Reine Blanche* in his gig at six-thirty in the morning of July 6 and did not return to Taiohae Bay until five o'clock in the afternoon.[29] The logbook of his flagship, which contains record of this visit, gives no details of the admiral's mission, but it was not, as Melville supposed, to take possession of Taioa Bay. That action had been accomplished almost a month before when chiefs of the Taioa tribe had acknowledged the sovereignty of France.

For eleven days the whalers *Acushnet* and *Nile* were the only American ships at anchor in Taiohae Bay. On Monday morning, June 27, the corvette *La Triomphante* set sail for Santa Christina,[30] and on the following Saturday the merchantman *Le Jules César,* having completed her provisioning of the establishment, departed for Valparaiso.[31] French boats towed into the harbor another member of the squadron on Sunday, July 3, *Le Bucéphale,* a transport bringing two hundred workmen to Nukahiva.[32] That afternoon the *Nile* weighed anchor and went forth on a cruise for whales.[33]

No twenty-one-gun salutes were fired by French warships at Nukahiva in honor of the United States's Independence Day, but July 4 was enlivened for the *Acushnet*'s mariners by the arrival of the whaler *Potomac,* Captain Isaac B. Hussey; its journal entry about the swimming Marquesan girls is quoted above. It stood in for the harbor and at ten o'clock anchored near Melville's ship.[34] Having sailed from Yankee soundings as recently as November 12, 1841,[35] she brought along with other news from home the tidings that the whaling industry had partially recovered from the depression that had struck it early that year. When she had departed Nantucket, sperm oil was bringing 95 cents and whale oil 33 cents a gallon.[36] This was cheering intelligence, but as far as Melville was concerned it came too late to affect the plans he was perhaps even then turning over in his mind.

On Thursday, July 7, a whaleboat from the *Potomac* "went out to Taipi Bay for a load of cocoanuts & bananas."[37] This visit to the domain of the "dread savages" of Melville's first novel was presumably lacking in danger or excitement, for it was recorded in the *Potomac*'s logbook in the most perfunctory manner. Whether the boat's crew of the Nantucket whaler returned with

any tall tales to inspire in Melville a fearful regard for the warlike peoples of Comptroller's Bay has not been recorded. But Melville was, he states in *Typee,* informed in no uncertain terms by the Teiis that their hostile neighbors were confirmed eaters of human flesh:

> The natives of Nukuheva would frequently recount in pantomime to our ship's company their [the Taipis'] terrible feats, and would show the marks of wounds they had received in desperate encounters with them. When ashore they would try to frighten us by pointing to one of their own number, and calling him a Typee, manifesting no little surprise that we did not take to our heels at so terrible an announcement. It was quite amusing, too, to see with what earnestness they disclaimed all cannibal propensities on their own part, while they denounced their enemies—the Typees—as inveterate gormandizers of human flesh. . . .
>
> Although I was convinced that the inhabitants of our bay were as arrant cannibals as any of the other tribes on the island, still I could not but feel a particular and most unqualified repugnance to the aforesaid Typees. (4:25)

Since the main suspense of Melville's first book hinges upon his belief that the Taipis were cannibals, it is worth inquiring whether his fears were justified. Certainly French colonizers of the Marquesas Islands were convinced that the natives, and not the Taipis alone, were addicted to cannibalism. In a report written at sea on August 25, 1842, Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars explained to the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies that the Marquesans were a strange people who could not be civilized in the usual way; they were essentially good-natured and mild, he felt, yet they ate human flesh.[38] The admiral believed that their cannibalism was attributable to training, not a proof of their cruelty. He had seen native chiefs express the most unequivocal signs of horror when a chicken, a tabooed fowl, was served at his table; on the other hand, they manifested "une grande joie et mangé sans difficulté de la chair humaine, si on leur en eut offert" (great pleasure and would have eaten without difficulty human flesh if that were offered them).[39] The situation was further aggravated by the deserters from whalers who resided in nearly all the isles of Polynesia. Many of these men, the admiral stated, were completely without principle. They ate human flesh and went about entirely naked in order to render themselves more agreeable to the islanders. Often rising to positions of influence among the natives, they created disorder in the islands and menaced visiting ships.

Rather telling evidence that cannibalism was practiced by the tribes of Nukahiva is found in a report of Captain Collet that mentions an incident that happened in March 1843.[40] For some time the French commandant had sought to attract to the fort at Tuhiva the chief and high priest of the Puas,

Akanao, a man of great influence and highly respected by other Taipi tribes. Akanao had on several occasions expressed a desire to visit the French leader, but he did not dare, even though his tribe had recently made peace with the Teiis. He feared coming into Moana's domain because in the last war with the Teiis he had eaten the son of Vékétu, their high priest. Being assured that all invited guests of the French were tabooed to the Teiis and would not be harmed, Akanao was persuaded to make a visit to the fort.[41]

The French evidently supposed that Marquesans, rather than being outrageous gormanidizers of human flesh, limited their cannibalism to special occasions, eating captured enemies only at religious ceremonies or at feasts following a war.[42] There was at least one intrepid American visitor to these isles in July 1842, however, who had good reason to believe that the natives were not averse to making an occasional meal of a white man. Captain Reuben Barney of the whaler *Barclay* of Nantucket, who recruited ship at Nukahiva during Melville's stay on the island,[43] had entered a Marquesan bay nearly six years before and, landing with a boat's crew, had been attacked by the islanders. He was made a prisoner, but his crew safely regained the *Barclay* by swimming. "The mate slipped the chain,"—so reported a New England newspaper—"and was proceeding to sea; but on learning that the natives were preparing to burn Capt. B. succeeded in effecting his ransom at a cost of about $500 in goods, &c."[44] Although this whaling master might have been fearfully duped by a shrewd native scheme to get free American goods, he evidently felt that he had been rescued from a more horrid fate.[45]

One aspect of Melville's visit to Nukahiva in the *Acushnet* must have proved exceedingly irksome. For almost sixteen days as a whaleman on duty or as a restive observer from the deck of his ship, as a bringer of recruits and a rafter of wood and water, not a gay, unrestricted member of a liberty party, he had seen the sights of the island and the interesting activities of the natives and the French on shore. According to *Typee* Melville's captain grudgingly allowed the starboard watch a day of shore leave only after nearly all the ship's work in port had been completed.[46] To intensify his feelings of deprivation on this score, there was the annoying spectacle each morning after July 5 of a boatload of merry seamen from the *Potomac* being rowed to the land to enjoy themselves until nightfall.[47] Was he to be denied the opportunity of exploring the wonders of this strange romantic isle? Contrasting the verdant scenery that rose before him with the narrow decks and gloomy forecastle of the *Acushnet,* freedom in a strange land with thralldom in a tyrannous ship, and the prospect of satisfying a spirit so ripe for novel adventure with that of enduring another monotonous cruise in the selfsame waters he had just left, Melville determined to desert at Nukahiva.

That much is safe to say. Melville's desertion is noted in the logbook of the

whaleship *Potomac* of Nantucket, Isaac B. Hussey, master. On Monday, July 4, 1842, William H. Macy, logkeeper, noted "at anchor ship Acushnet Pease of Fairhaven 18 m[onth]s out 950 Bbls." Three days later, he recorded "anchored here ship London Packet Howland FA[irhaven] 31 m[onth]s 1750 sp[erm] put in leaky having been run through by a Billfish." Then, on Monday, July 11, the *Potomac*'s logbook reads, "Fine day sailed ship Acushnet of FA intending to lay off for a day or two + send boat in for her men who have deserted." The *Acushnet* had lost five men to desertion, and by this ruse hoped to recover at least some of them. The ruse worked: on Wednesday, July 13, the logkeeper recorded "touched ship Acushnet + succeeded in getting 3 of her runaways."[48] The two successful deserters were Herman Melville and Toby Greene.

Beyond the fact of desertion, however, everything that Melville tells his readers in *Typee* about his adventures on Nukahiva must be read with considerable reservation, for it actually contains a complex blend of fiction and reality. Since the novel is the almost exclusive source of information about Melville's days on the island, it cannot be ignored. In recounting those adventures he makes his central figure one Tommo, who of course is to be read as the author himself. Why that name change (especially since there is no record of Melville's ever having been called that by anyone) is a question all the more curious since in promoting *Typee* once it was published Melville strenuously insisted that the whole book was truth, not fiction.

In the novel Tommo and his companion Toby strike out for a mountain ridge and cross a terrain of valleys and elevations. After almost six days of much rain, little food, and a serious leg injury for Tommo, the two come into the valley, not of the Hapaas that they had set as their destination, but of the feared, supposedly cannibal Taipis.

To their surprise the two deserters are offered a hospitable and deferential welcome. They are accepted into a Taipi household that numbers among its members an aged couple, Marheyo and Tinor, a beautiful and charming girl, Fayaway, and an assiduously devoted young warrior, Kory-Kory. When the best medical attention that the valley offers—violent pummeling and pinching by a native doctor and the application of herbs—fails to bring relief to Tommo's leg, Kory-Kory becomes his body servant and carries him about the village. The two mariners join both in the recreative, untroubled routine of native life and in the privileged doings of the most honored chiefs. They are admitted to tabooed groves and to the sacred *tai* of the nobles. Indeed, their days are so languorous and their treatment so unexpectedly indulgent as to make them all the more suspicious of the intentions of their hosts. Knowing the fearful reputation of the Taipis and the supposed fickle nature of islanders in general, they are eager to leave the valley as soon as possible. For Tommo, however, who is now seriously lame, the possibilities of escape

Map by John McAusland

seem depressingly remote. His suggestion that Toby return to Taiohae Bay and secure proper medication for his malady from surgeons of the French fleet is vigorously opposed both by his companion and the natives, but in time he manages to overcome their objections. Toby eventually makes his way out of the valley, returns to Taiohae Bay, makes an unsuccessful effort to send help for his companion, and leaves the island in the fashion described in the next chapter.

Three weeks after the disappearance of Toby, Tommo first realizes that he is indeed a captive in the valley. Again there are rumors of approaching boats, and Tommo attempts to go to the beach, but is restrained. His leg is causing him pain and his situation leaves him near despair. In the dismal, apathetic days that follow, he almost loses count of time.

Then suddenly his leg begins to heal, and, with release from physical torment, Tommo enjoys a buoyant elasticity of spirit. His surroundings are now invested with an almost compelling attractiveness. The idyllic society of the primitive Taipis, he finds, has much to recommend it. Blessed with remarkable physical beauty and good health, a benign climate, and a bountiful land where bread and fruit grew on trees without cultivation and hogs and fowl increase and fatten without care, the Taipis lead a life of apparently unalloyed enjoyment: "There seemed to be no cares, griefs, troubles, or vexations. . . . The hours tripped along as gaily as the laughing couples down a country dance" (17:126).

Except for being forbidden to approach the beach, Tommo has the run of the valley. With troops of native girls, beautiful river nymphs who sport like shoals of dolphins, he swims daily in a miniature lake, and there, in a canoe provided for his special use, he spends many a pleasant hour with the lovely Fayaway. At the *tai* he is a welcome participant in the bachelor doings of Chief Mehevi and his warriors. He observes native craftsmen at work, familiarizes himself with Taipi customs, examines primitive island relics, and enjoys the amenities of a two-day native festival. But for all the charming advantages of this Polynesian way of life, Tommo is not ready to resign himself permanently to an existence of vagabondage. However unlikely the prospect may seem, he never gives up the hope of returning to the society of white men.

Approximately two months after Tommo comes to the valley (again, according to the chronology of *Typee*), the tribesmen hail with pleasure the arrival of a distinguished native visitor, a tabooed Marquesan who goes with immunity among hostile nations of the island. He is Marnoo, "one of the most striking specimens of humanity" (18:135) Tommo had ever seen, a veritable Polynesian Apollo, about twenty-five years of age. It is natural to wonder if this is the Manoo or Manu, described by an 1835 visitor as "a remarkably

fine-looking boy, thirteen years old," the ranking prince of the Hapaas.[49] If so, what is he doing among the unfriendly Taipis? There were, at the time of Melville's stay on Nukahiva, a Manu and a Manutini among the Hapaa chiefs, one of them a child.[50] The Marnoo that Melville described is, he says, from the valley of "Pueearka" (33:241). Such a place seems to have been wholly imaginary; it is unmentioned in contemporary travel books or in the reports of the French navy and is unknown to anthropologists today.

To Tommo's astonishment this remarkable visitor, after conversing pleasantly with assembled natives in Marheyo's hut, turns to him and speaks in English. Eagerly Tommo questions him concerning news of Toby and the chance of deliverance from his captors. In a disturbing, mysterious tone Marnoo denies all knowledge of his shipmate's disappearance. As for guiding him safely back to Taiohae Bay, that, Marnoo assures him, is impossible. The Taipis, he says, would never permit Tommo to leave their valley. Still, at Tommo's urging, he speaks with several of the chiefs, endeavoring to intercede on the white man's behalf. His petition is vehemently refused. Angrily Chief Mehevi rebukes both Marnoo and Tommo. The visitor, fearful for his safety, shortly thereafter departs the valley.

His hopes for freedom once more thwarted, Tommo becomes again the prey of despondency, but he determines to counterfeit an air of composure, knowing that the revelation of his true feelings might frustrate any further opportunity for escape. A series of perturbing and ominous events that come in the days after Marnoo's visit make almost impossible his simulation of cheerfulness. First, there is the abhorrent suggestion, companionably but insistently urged by Mehevi and his followers, that, like a true Taipi, Tommo should be "rendered hideous for life" (30:218) by being tattooed. So strong are Tommo's expressions of repugnance to the idea that the surprised chief after a time ceases to importune him. Other members of the tribe, however, make him miserable with continued demands that he submit his white skin to Karky, the tribal tattooer. As if to compound his wretchedness, in the third month of his captivity the painful malady of his leg returns with all its former violence. Finally, he is filled with dread that a hideous doom awaits him. Returning unexpectedly to Marheyo's hut one day, he surprises a group of natives who are examining three shrunken heads. The confused men quickly cover these ghastly objects with tappa, but not before Tommo sees distinctly that one of the heads was that of a white man. A few days later, after a border battle between Taipi and Hapaa warriors, the victorious natives of the valley bring to the *tai* three large bundles that Tommo believes to contain bodies of their slain enemies. Although he has always been a welcome guest at the *tai,* upon this occasion Tommo is ordered to leave the baronial hall. Throughout the next day, while guarded by Kory-Kory, he hears from a distance the un-

interrupted thunder of war drums, convinced that the Taipis are celebrating a horrid, cannibalistic ritual. He is allowed during the following afternoon to return to the *tai.* In passing along the piazza he sees an unfamiliar object, a large wooden vessel, strangely carved and shaped like a canoe. Overcome with curiosity, he lifts one end of its wooden cover while Taipi chiefs yell, "Taboo! taboo!" With loud protestations Kory-Kory maintains that the vessel holds the remains of a pig, but Tommo knows that he has seen "the disordered members of a human skeleton, the bones still fresh with moisture, and with particles of flesh clinging to them here and there!" (32:238).

In the fourth month of his captivity, when Tommo is very lame and enfeebled, deliverance comes unexpectedly. Excited natives bring one day the news that Toby has returned in a boat that has entered the bay. Although Chief Mehevi vigorously opposes Tommo's going to the beach, he reluctantly yields to the white man's pleading. Transferred from one back to another, Tommo is swiftly conveyed towards the sea, but is stopped when a party of natives coming from the beach announce that the rumor concerning Toby is false. Happily for Tommo, the Taipis begin to argue—one group in heated objection to Tommo's continuing the journey, the other protesting in his defense. Leaving a hut into which he has been rudely forced, he hobbles along the pathway for a time. On Kory-Kory's strong back—Marheyo, out of sympathy for the white man, having ordered his son to carry Tommo—he arrives at the beach. There he finds, not his shipmate, but six islanders with an English whaleboat.

Led by Karakoee, a tabooed native of Oahu who had visited Tommo's ship when it lay at anchor in Taiohae Bay, the boat's crew has come with presents of calico, a musket, and powder to barter for Tommo's release. Karakoee represents the captain of an Australian barque in need of additional whalemen. Having learned about Tommo from Marnoo, he brought a boat into Comptroller's Bay, while the Australian craft lay off and on beyond an island headland. At the landing place, with the means of his deliverance at hand, Tommo is seized by the Taipis and Karakoee is ordered to depart. Then the clamorous Taipis, already furiously divided, begin to fight among themselves, leaving Tommo with Marheyo, Kory-Kory, and Fayaway. Tommo rushes for the boat, but not until he has sorrowfully embraced Fayaway and has thrown to his friends the articles of ransom. The rowers pull away, with the Taipis soon in infuriated pursuit. After running for a headland of the bay around which the rescue party had to pass, Taipi warriors swim off in an attempt to seize the boat. Their efforts are thwarted only after Tommo strikes Mow-Mow, a native chief, with a boat hook and the rowers drive away an islander who seizes the gunwale. Soon thereafter Tommo is lifted over the side of the waiting Australian barque.

So, according to *Typee,* went the adventures of Tommo, whether or not they were the adventures of Melville.

In writing *Typee* Melville employed a technique of composition that he also used in several subsequent volumes: narration and commentary. As a teller of tales Melville seldom committed himself to uninterrupted narration; the urge to become "[s]adly discursive" (*Typee,* 31:226)—to use his own phrase—was often upon him. Even in some of the most dramatic passages of his first book, he could not resist the tendency to digress. Nine of the thirty-four chapters of *Typee* (20, 24–31) are almost exclusively given to exposition or polemics. In them, and in parts of other chapters, Melville acts as an amateur ethnologist, social critic, or propagandist. He discussed the strange customs of the Marquesans, their general character, their political and social institutions, and their native industries.

Although his observations of Polynesian society never convinced him that he had discovered a Utopian state of which he would willingly become a citizen, he felt that the nicely balanced Taipi way of life was infinitely happier than that of "civilized men":

> There were none of those thousand sources of irritation that the ingenuity of civilized man has created to mar his own felicity. There were no foreclosures of mortgages, no protested notes, no bills payable, no debts of honor in Typee; no unreasonable tailors and shoemakers, perversely bent on being paid; no duns of any description; no assault and battery attorneys, to foment discord, backing their clients up to a quarrel, and then knocking their heads together; no poor relations, everlastingly occupying the spare bed-chamber, and diminishing the elbow room at the family table; no destitute widows with their children starving on the cold charities of the world; no beggars; no debtors' prisons; no proud and hard-hearted nabobs in Typee; or to sum up all in one word—no Money! That "root of all evil" was not to be found in the valley. (17:126)

Such a felicitous society, Melville argues, could gain nothing but grief and trouble from the "civilizers." Persuaded that "[c]ivilization, for every advantage she imparts, holds a hundred evils in reserve," he inveighs against the imperialistic French colonizers and the Christian missions, radically asserting that "four or five Marquesan Islanders sent to the United States as Missionaries might be quite as useful as an equal number of Americans despatched to the Islands in a similar capacity" (17:124, 125–26).

Scholarly research has convincingly demonstrated that *Typee* is, in at least one sense, a compilation—added to facts concerning the culture of the Marquesans that Melville acquired as an eyewitness is much unacknowledged information that he drew from contemporary travel books and presented as

his own.[51] In the process of composing *Typee* he had at his desk at least three works to which he frequently referred: David Porter's *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean,* Charles S. Stewart's *A Visit to the South Seas,* and Georg H. von Langsdorff's *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World.* He owed a considerable literary debt to these volumes, borrowing from them facts (and sometimes misinformation), ideas, and even phraseology.

Whatever other questions may be raised about the reality of Melville's experiences as recorded in his novel, there are some clear disparities between fact and fiction. He spent one month of freedom from ship's duty at this Marquesan isle (July 9 to August 9, 1842),[52] not the four months represented in *Typee.* The inland lake, "about three hundred yards across" (18:131), that Melville describes as the scene of pleasant days of boating with Fayaway was imaginary; one writer has treated the name Fayaway itself as imaginary.[53] Strangely, the map of Nukahiva which prefaces the first edition of *Typee* places the valleys of the Hapaas and the Taipis on the wrong side of the island. Some indications that Melville departed from autobiographical literalness in other respects are offered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 16

Jimmy and Toby

> There are some things related in the narrative which will be sure to appear strange, or perhaps entirely incomprehensible, to the reader; but they cannot appear more so to him than they did to the author at the time. He has stated such matters just as they occurred, and leaves every one to form his own opinion concerning them; trusting that his anxious desire to speak the unvarnished truth will gain for him the confidence of his readers.
>
> —Preface to *Typee*

> But soon Donjalolo interrupted him. "What say you, Zuma, about the secret cavern, and the treasures therein? A very different account, this, from all I have heard hitherto; but perhaps yours is the true version. Go on."
>
> But very soon, poor Zuma was again interrupted by exclamations of surprise. Nay, even to the very end of his recountings.
>
> But when he had done, Donjalolo observed, that if from any cause Zuma was in error or obscure, Varnopi would not fail to set him right.
>
> —*Mardi,* Chapter 82

When Gansevoort Melville, newly appointed secretary to the United States Legation in London, sailed on July 31, 1845, aboard the clipper ship *Great Western,* he carried with him the manuscript of his brother Herman's first book. Following the suggestion of an American friend, Dr. Thomas L. Nichols, he planned to offer *Typee* to an English publisher in the hope that a favorable overseas reception might assure the book's success at home.[1] Sometime in October Gansevoort submitted a portion of the manuscript to John Murray. The publisher of the "Home and Colonial Library," well-known for his interest in authentic tales of travel and adventure, liked the chapters he read and asked for more. Somewhat skeptically he asked also for a guarantee that the narrative was a true account of actual events. Being assured by Gansevoort that the work was devoid of the taint of fiction, Murray agreed to print one thousand copies, paying £100 for the English copyright.[2] Part One of *Narrative of a Four Months' Residence among the Natives of a Valley of the Marquesas Islands* made its appearance in London on February 27, 1846. Shortly thereafter the book was published in the United States by Wiley and Putnam under

the title, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life, During a Four Months' Residence in a Valley of the Marquesas.* Both the English and American editions carried a preface declaring that the book contained a circumstantial story of extraordinary happenings to its author.

Had Melville's first book been published as a novel, a tale of romance, rather than as a factual travel book, contemporary readers would have had no occasion to be incredulous, and modern critics might not still be seeking to assess the proportions of autobiography and fiction that it contains.

In 1846 *Typee* won popular acclaim both in England and the United States.[3] With the exception of certain reviews that charged the book with immorality and attacked Melville's attitude toward missionary activities in the South Seas, the critical consensus was that *Typee* was "one of the most delightful and well written narratives that ever came from an American pen."[4] "Since the joyous moment when we first read Robinson Crusoe—and believed it all, and wondered all the more because we believed—we have not met with so bewitching a work as this narrative," wrote one English reviewer.[5] *Typee* was proclaimed a "strange, graceful, most readable book,"[6] "full of . . . captivating matter . . . [and] endued with freshness and originality";[7] its style was described as having "a careless elegance which suits admirably with the luxurious tropical tone."[8]

A good many contemporary critics raised the issue of *Typee*'s authenticity. Among them, the English reviewers were generally charitable. Even though they speculated concerning the truth of the narrative and in some instances expressed slight misgivings, most of them were willing to believe in it: "A little colouring there may be, here and there; but the result is a thorough impression of reality."[9] American readers, however, were less disposed to give unquestioning credence to a book so "full of things strange and queer to the ears of Broadway and Chestnut Street."[10] A writer in *The Harbinger,* although inclined to believe otherwise, could not avoid suggesting "the possibility that [*Typee*] may be in the most important particulars, only an amusing fiction."[11] Another in *The Knickerbocker* was "frequently struck while reading it with the idea that the writer was occasionally romancing."[12] Evert Duyckinck, editor of Wiley and Putnam's "Library of Choice Reading," was "politely incredulous"[13] of *Typee*'s genuineness, and his brother George was unwilling to take "it all for sober verity."[14]

Perhaps the most abusive of the American reviews—certainly the one that most incensed Melville—appeared in the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer:*

> We should not express our candid opinion, however, did we omit to say that in our judgment, in all essential respects, [*Typee*] is a *fiction,*—a piece of

> Munchausenism,—from beginning to end. It may be that the author visited, and spent some time in, the Marquesas Islands; and there may be foundation for some portions of the narrative. But we have not the slightest confidence in any of the details, while many of the incidents narrated are utterly incredible. We might cite numberless instances of this monstrous exaggeration; but no one can read a dozen pages of the book without detecting them.
>
> This would be a matter to be excused, if the book were not put forth as a simple record of actual experience. It professes to give nothing but what the author actually saw and heard. It must therefore be judged, not as a romance or a poem, but as a book of travels,—as a statement of facts;—and in this light it has, in our judgment, no merit whatever.[15]

Melville was indignant. He prepared an answer to the vicious charges and sought, through his friend Alexander W. Bradford, to get it printed anonymously in the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer.* In his letter of transmittal to Bradford he expressed vexation that "so many numskulls on this side of the water should heroically avow their determination not to be 'gulled' by it. The fact is, those who do not beleive [*sic*] it are the greatest 'gulls.'—full fledged ones too."[16]

It was Melville's word against his critics, for who could testify to the historical accuracy of *Typee?* Not Mehevi, not Kory-Kory, and not Fayaway. But suddenly there dramatically appeared—or reappeared—a lone eyewitness: Toby Greene, Melville's fellow deserter. In a now famous letter to the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* printed July 1, 1846, Toby spoke. An editor, sensitive to the scoop his paper had made, added an excited preface.

> **How strangely things turn up!**
>
> One of the most curious and entertaining books published last season was a work entitled "*Typee, a residence in the Marquesas.*" We read it with great interest, but the impression it left on the mind was that the incidents and mode of life it described were too extraordinary, and too much at variance with what is known of savage life, to be true, and that like the fabled *Atlantis* or the travels of *Gaudentio di Lucca,* though without their philosophical pretension, it was the offspring of a lively inventive fancy, rather than a veritable narrative of facts. This impression, we believe, was very general. The readers of *Typee* therefore can imagine, and will share, our surprise, at hearing that here, in Buffalo, is a credible witness to the truth of some of the most extraordinary incidents narrated in the book. *Toby,* the companion of Mr. Melville in the flight from the whale ship, and whom in his book he supposes to be dead, is now living in this city, following the business of a house and sign painter. His father is a respectable farmer in the town of Darien, Genesee Co. We received from *Toby* this morning the subjoined

communication. His verbal statements correspond in all essential particulars with those made by Mr. Melville respecting their joint adventures, and from the assurances we have received in regard to Toby's character, we have no reason to doubt his word. His turning up here is a strange verification of a very strange and, as has hitherto been deemed, an almost incredible book:

To the Editor of the Buffalo Com. Adv.:

In the *New York Evangelist* I chanced to see a notice of a new publication in two parts, called "*Typee, a residence in the Marquesas,*" by Herman Melville. In the book he speaks of his comrade in misfortune, "Toby," who left him so mysteriously, and whom he supposed had been killed by the Happar natives. The *Evangelist* speaks rather disparagingly of the book as being too romantic to be true, and as being too severe on the missionaries. But to my object: I am the true and veritable "Toby," yet living, and I am happy to testify to the entire accuracy of the work so long as I was with Melville, who makes me figure so largely in it. I have not heard of Melville or "Tommo," since I left him on the Island, and likewise supposed him to be dead; and not knowing where a letter would find him, and being anxious to know where he is, and to tell him my "yarn" and compare "log" books, I have concluded to ask you to insert this notice, and inform him of my yet being alive, and to ask you to request New York, Albany and Boston papers to publish this notice, so that it may reach him. My true name is Richard Green[e], and I have the scar on my head which I received from the Happar spear and which came near killing me. I left Melville and fell in with an Irishman, who had resided on the Island for some time, and who assisted me in returning to ship, and who faithfully promised me to go and bring Melville to our ship next day, which he never did, his only object being money. I gave him five dollars to get me on board, but could not return to Melville. I sailed to New Zealand and thence home; and I request Melville to send me his address if this should chance to meet his eye. *Mortarkee* was the word I used when I heard of his being alive. "Toby."

Melville wrote to Evert Duyckinck from Lansingburgh that he had seen Toby's letter July 2, the day after it appeared in Buffalo, and had written to Toby and was planning on seeing him soon. On July 3 Toby's letter was reprinted in the *Albany Evening Journal* and the Albany *Argus.* Within the next week or so, two things happened: Toby published an ampler account—more than five times the length of his letter—of his adventures with Melville, and Melville visited Toby. Toby's second version appeared July 11, 1846, in the same *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* as the original letter:[17]

Typee.

TOBY'S OWN STORY.

The following communication, from the '*Toby*' of '*Typee,*' giving an account of the manner of his escape from the Typee valley, will be read with interest. It is a mere sketch, however, and in a new edition of *Typee,* which we see has been called for, will be doubtless given with all necessary details:

Friend "Tommo," If you were rejoiced at hearing that "Toby" was still in the land of the living, imagine to yourself my feelings on hearing that my companion "Tommo" was still alive. I am indeed happy to be able to clear myself from what you call "perfidious." Was it possible you could for a moment harbor the thought that I would endeavor to make my escape from the island, and leave you at the mercy of the Typees? No, far from it. I would have sacrificed my life first, as you well know I came near losing it once for you, and would willingly have undertaken the same journey again if necessary.

But to my escape. The morning I left you, it was with a buoyant hope that I would soon have you with myself on board a ship, or somewhere in safety, that you might be attended to till you recovered from your lameness.

As soon as we arrived on the beach, I discovered a white man standing there, surrounded by a number of natives. This man had just arrived from Nukeheva. You probably recollect him. He came on board of the *Dolly* shortly after our arrival in port. He had a great deal of tattooing about his person. He was an Irishman, called Jimmy Fitch. On his perceiving me, he welcomed me to the beach, asked me if I wished to leave the bay and get a ship. I told him I did, but that I had a shipmate up in the valley, who, on account of lameness, could not come down; that I would go up to him and get some assistance to carry him to the beach. To this he assented, but reminded me, at the same time, that he tho't it doubtful whether I could get to the place where my shipmate then was. I started to go up the valley, and had not proceeded a "ship's length" when I felt two or three hands laid heavily upon my shoulders. Imagine to yourself my surprise and horror on learning that I could go no farther, as the natives had just discovered that I wished to leave the bay. One of them that laid hold of me was "*Mareho.*" The Irishman then came to me and then told me that in all probability if I should force my way up where Melville was, we would never come down. He then made me a faithful promise that he would have my companion away the next day, as he was coming over from Nukeheva the following morning with a ship's boats for the purpose of trading, for you must understand no boats arrived in Typee that day. The Irishman had been there that day for the purpose of engaging fruit, pigs, &c., for the ships then lying at Nukeheva. He came across by land through Happar. I then told Jimmy I would never leave the

valley until I was convinced he could get you away. To this he assured me he was a tabooed man, that he could go any where through the island, and take with him who and what he pleased; and to prove this he would take a Typee native to Nukeheva with us, to car- [*sic*] a small hog, a present from one of the natives.—As incredible as this may seem, it is nevertheless true. It is strange you never saw this fellow after his return to Typee. You must certainly recollect us speaking to a native at one time, who told us he had often been in Nukeheva, and we doubted his statement.

But to my story. Said Jimmy, if I bring you and a Typee native safe through the valley of the Happars, can I not as easily bring your shipmate? This seemed plausible enough, but he added it is impossible for you to stay here tonight, now the natives know your intentions. So come, it is getting late, we have a long journey before us, the sooner we start the the [*sic*] better, and be assured you will have your companion with you tomorrow evening. With a heavy heart and a long look up the valley, I started forward, the natives looking daggers at me, but dared not advance towards me as I was tabooed. We ascended the mountain in a much easier manner than you and I had done a few weeks before, and in about two hours found ourselves in the valley of the Happars. We got something to eat there, and while resting ourselves I could not help noticing how savage the natives looked at our Typee friend, who kept close to the tabooed man. Had he been alone, poor fellow, I fear his time would have been short.—It was then I acknowledged the superiority of Jimmy Fitch and the power of the taboo. While sitting in the Happar's house, Jimmy made me promise I would give him five dollars on my arrival on board a ship for his trouble. This, I told him, he should have, and my shipmate would do the same, and better than that, if he wished.

We arrived in Nukeheva about dark the same day, and I was immediately hurried on board the *London Packet,* as the Captain wanted me—badly; but my sorry appearance after the loss of much blood boded no good in my favor. The Captain was loth to ship me, as he thought I was sick.—However I entered my name on the ship's articles. I told him I had a companion in Typee, and asked for a boat and crew armed that we might go and release him. But the captain had no such idea. No, he was not going to trust his men amongst the bloody cannibals, though I must say the crew were eager for the enterprise. He told me Jimmy would have my friend on board the next evening.

The next evening came, and found me on the beach waiting to welcome my shipmate. I could descry his form seated in the stern sheets as the boats approached the shore. But alas! he was not there. My brain grew dizzy, the savage villains have killed him, but I will be revenged on the scoundrel that took me from the valley. So soon as Jimmy struck the beach I seized him, shouting in a voice that startled him, where is Melville? He assured me he was not able to come down to the beach that day, though he knew the boats were in Typee bay, but that he had engaged a native to carry him to the

boat the next day, as he was going around there again. This partly satisfied me, but I had some doubts as to the truth of his statement. I bade him good night, telling him that if Melville was not forthcoming the next evening he might consider himself in a dangerous situation.

I went on board my ship, filled with gloomy thoughts. The next morning I saw the boats depart with Jimmy. Now, thought I, I soon shall have the pleasure of seeing him and explain all; but how was I mistaken. At twelve o'clock that day, the Captain came forward and gave orders to "man the windlass." If I should here attempt to relate to you the anguish I felt at leaving you, it would appear like affectation, I will not attempt it. When I recovered from my feelings the good ship was ploughing the billows like a thing of life, while the mountains of Marquesas were "hull down" in the distance.

You recollect that I started a little after sunrise out of the valley, and with me went, Fayaway, Marheyo, Mow Mow with the one eye, and the two young Typees, living in our house, and some one hundred and fifty besides, carrying huge, cocoa nuts, banana &c., to trade, expecting boats in the bay. We arrived on the beach in about three hours and found no one there but the Irish Jimmy, who had escaped from an English Man of War, and who I have since learned was captured by the English after this event. Here ensued the above conversation. You will recollect that on the Typee beach there is a tabooed house, against which Jimmy made me sit. After I took my place there all the natives formed a circle around me, looking savage, and talking and discussing the subject of my intentions, and how they should prevent my departure. But no one dared to approach me, but an old woman, who was a King's wife in the other Typee bay, for you will recollect there were two Typees, who asked me "*Typee Mortarkee?*["] I answered "*Mortarkee,*" and then by signs [she] asked me if I was going to Nukeheva? I answered by nodding, yes, and then she left. I sat there half an hour before we started when Jimmy called the Typee, and me, and then the fair Fayaway, your Typee dulcinea, came up to me and shook hands with me and said "how you do," in English, as you recollect we taught her a few words of English, such as "good bye" and "how do you do," and she mistook the words and said for good bye "*how you do,*" and then the Typee shouldered his hog, and we started off, the natives still looking, talking, and leaving their fruit on the beach, left for the valley before we were out of sight. This is all I recollect of my escape. We weighed anchor and set sail the second day after I got on board, and sailed on a cruise among the Islands for four months, when our ship sprung aleak [*sic*] and we shifted our course for New Zealand, where we arrived in about four months after I left Nukeheva. There I left the *London Packet,* and shipped on the English brig *Harlequin,* on board of which I was three months, trading on the cost [*sic*] of New Zealand, when I again left her for the *Nimrod,* on board of which I was about one month. Left her and took the *London Packet* again, in which latter vessel I left Nukeheva, and left for

> home after five months. So that it was one year after I left Typee before I arrived home—landing at Fairhaven, Mass.
>
> I have seen in the *Argus* a paragraph doubting the truth of my statement in regard to the five dollars I gave Jimmy, the Irishman; but you know when we shipped at New Bedford, the ship's owners advanced some $84, on the strength of our future services and earnings, and on this principle when I got on board the *London Packet* I told her captain I had promised Jimmy $5, who said I had better not give it to him, but he would pay it if I desired. I told him I had a comrade ashore, whom he might not bring if I cheated him, and the captain advanced the money.
>
> In regard to the cognomen, "Toby," my name is Richard Tobias Greene, under which name I shipped, and the crew getting hold of Tobias, corrupted it into *Toby,* by which name I was called after—this I think will sufficiently explain the doubts. "Toby."

This newspaper piece or a draft of it is presumably what Melville referred to in his July 15, 1846, letter to his English publisher John Murray as the communication that Toby first sent to him as a personal letter. Melville sent Murray Toby's first letter to the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* and other clippings as proof of *Typee*'s veracity; by the same ship he sent Murray a letter brimming with satisfaction at the materialization of Toby, but he seems to have refrained from including the second Toby communication to the newspaper, for he clearly had mixed feelings about it. "In Buffalo," he told Murray, "where he 'turned up' the public curiosity was so great that 'Toby' was induced to gratify it by publishing the draught of a letter which he had originally sent to me. This is not the letter however, which appears in the papers I send you.—I was sorry for this on some accounts, but it could not be helped."[18]

The easiest inference about Melville's being sorry for what on its face was nothing but a grand promotion of his book is that "Toby's Own Story" did not coincide at all points with the version of events that Melville was preparing as a sequel to be published with future printings of *Typee.* Just how much Melville's sequel and Toby's account can or cannot be harmonized is discussed below.

Sometime between July 15 and 22, around the time of the publication of "Toby's Own Story," Melville's visit to Toby in upstate New York took place. No records have been found of what they discussed, but Melville did tell Murray in a September 2, 1846, letter, "I have seen Toby. have his darguerreotype [*sic*]—a lock of those ebon curls."[19] Out of the conversation of the two men came a sequel to *Typee,* "The Story of Toby," first published separately in England as a pamphlet of sixteen pages[20] and then later as part of the revised edition of the book in the United States.

In printing Greene's narrative of his escape from Nukahiva, the editors of the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* described it as "a mere sketch" and expressed the expectation that Melville, in a new edition of *Typee,* would tell the story "with all necessary detail." Melville, however, had no such intentions. To John Murray he wrote that Toby's escape had become so well known in America "as to render any particular statement needless." A factual account of the incident, he felt, would lead him "into divers disenchanting and unromantic details, which at the very close of the story would show as awkwardly as the clumsy frame of a scene peeping into view just as the curtain falls on the last act of the drama."[21]

Melville's sequel to *Typee* is in the characteristic manner of the book to which it is appended. It follows in a general way the account Greene had sent to the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser,* repeating a number of the episodes and in a few instances even echoing Greene's phraseology. Beyond these similarities, however, there are differences which are typically Melvillean. Greene's newspaper narrative is a matter-of-fact reminiscence; Melville's sequel is a yarn, continued in the off-hand, gossipy vein of *Typee.* It is also concerned, to some extent, with maintaining the level of excitement and suspense on which the book concluded.

To achieve his purpose, Melville made certain additions to Greene's story and altered in several places his shipmate's statements. In view of Greene's declaration, "This is all I recollect of my escape," these additions are especially interesting. The newspaper narrative would lead one to suppose that Toby's three-hour trip from Taipi valley to the beach was uneventful. With the sequel it is quite otherwise. First, the Taipis give a signal of alarm and, to the consternation of the unwitting, unarmed Toby, simulate a sham battle with warriors whom Toby thinks are enemy Hapaas. They further delay the impatient mariner's progress to the bay by actual physical restraint and later by trying to induce him to sit down and eat. In the newspaper narrative, Greene speaks briefly of "a Happar's house" where he and Irish Jimmy rested along the way and took refreshment. In Melville's Sequel the dwelling becomes that of two of Jimmy's native wives. Melville describes at some length this stop during the journey—the meal, Toby's seeking to recognize the Hapaa who had wounded him a few days before, and the Irishman's efforts to get his Taipi companion intoxicated. Greene gave no details of the last stage of the trip. In the sequel, however, Toby and his two fellow travellers fall in with a party of Teiis and chat with them about the French colonizers; at the village on Taiohae Bay they visit the Irishman's home and eat a repast prepared by his Nukahivan wives before they go aboard an American ship.

Melville's alteration of statements of the newspaper narrative are made to gain dramatic effect, to add color, and sometimes for no discernible reason.

Speaking of being restrained from his attempt to return to the valley and rescue Melville, Greene said, "I felt two or three hands laid heavily upon my shoulders"; in the sequel "a dozen hands were laid on him" ("Sequel," 265). Toby, in the newspaper narrative, sits against a tabooed house. Melville has him sit "on a broken canoe by a pile of stones, upon which was a ruinous little shrine supported by four upright paddles, and in front partly screened by a net" ("Sequel," 265). Greene said that "it was one year after I left Typee before I arrived home"; Melville makes the time "less than two years" ("Sequel," 271).[22]

Identifying Jimmy Fitz, Greene stated only that he was an Irishman, much tattooed, who had visited his and Melville's ship at Nukahiva. In the sequel this "old grizzled sailor" ("Sequel," 263) gets more attention. He is described as a favorite of King Moana and an interpreter for the French colonizers. He is an "arrant old gossip" ("Sequel," 263) who frequently visited ships in the bay and entertained mariners with items of Nukahivan scandal and with local tall tales. Melville recounts two of his cock-and-bull stories, one about a sorcerous hermit said to have a great pair of horns growing from his temples, the other concerning a boy who had on his head a comb like that of a rooster and who was endowed with a cock's voice. Significantly enough, Melville refers to the Irishman only as an "old rover," "going by the name of 'Jimmy'" ("Sequel," 263); he never calls him Jimmy Fitz. Neither does he name the ship in which Toby escaped—the *London Packet* of Fairhaven, the leaky whaler that arrived at Nukahiva two days before Melville and Toby deserted the *Acushnet*.

There is more to the story of Irishman James Fitz and his dealings with whalemen of the *Acushnet* than either Greene's narrative or Melville's sequel would suggest. Some fifty-three days after the *Acushnet* had taken her departure from Nukahiva on July 11, 1842, and had gone on a cruise for whales, the ship returned to Taiohae Bay.[23] Captain Pease had become ill and it had been necessary to make port ahead of schedule.[24] It was during the stay at anchor from September 2 to 21 that the ailing skipper of the *Acushnet* joined with two other American whaling masters, Captain Seth Pinkham of the ship *Henry Astor* of Nantucket and Captain Frederick A. Stall of the barque *Russell* of New Bedford, in addressing a memorial of protest to the French commandant of the island. The subject of their charges was James Fitz, accused of crimping, or enticing sailors to desert one ship in order to sell their services for a fee to another ship:

> We, the undersigned, masters of whaleships lying in the port of Naoshenah, hereby make a formal complaint against the conduct of a resident here known by the name of '*Irish Jemmy.*' It is notoriously known that the said

> *Irish Jemmy* has been for some time past in the practice of enticing Seamen of the Several Ships that touch here for supplies to desert, promising to aid them in making their escape, and afterwards secreting them until their own ship would depart and then disposing of them at a premium to the next vessel in want of hands.
>
> For the truth of the above accusations there is ample testimony at hand, and shall be, if required, forth coming, to morrow.
>
> Being much annoyed by the extremely offensive and aggravating conduct of the aforesaid 'Jemmy,' we the undersigned request the Commandant of the French forces at Naoshenah to arrest the said 'Irish Jemmy' and to cause him to answer for his misconduct to the proper authorities, or to deal with him in any way that the Governor may deem expedient.[25]

To this memorial is added a postscript: "The persons who will testify are Mr. Raymond, first officer of Ship *Acusnett* [*sic*], Ephraim Walcott, blacksmith of do., Joseph S. B. Wright and John Jonson, seamen of Ship *Henry Astor*—"

James Fitz was arrested by Captain Collet, the French commandant, for three offences, one of them considerably more serious than that described by the American whaling captains. He had shot at point-blank range a Swiss resident of the island, he had encouraged the desertion of American whalemen, and he had promoted disaffection among the natives by boasting that the first English ship to touch at Nukahiva would chase away the Frenchmen.[26] Captain Collet delivered his prisoner on September 19 to Lord George Paulet, commander of the *Carysfort,* an English man-of-war that had arrived at Taiohae Bay five days before.[27] It is an interesting commentary on the rivalry of English and French navies in 1842, when the Pacific was a theater of imperialism, that James Fitz, instead of being put in irons, was enrolled as an ordinary seaman aboard the *Carysfort*. This "old grizzled sailor" (*Typee,* "Sequel," 263), as Melville referred to him, is precisely described in records of the English frigate.[28] Born in Limerick, Ireland, and brought up to the sea, he was thirty-nine years old in 1842. He was 5 feet, 3 inches tall, of swarthy complexion, with gray eyes and black hair, and had on his body the marks of smallpox. This Irishman departed from Nukahiva under conditions of immunity, but he had no intentions of remaining long a man-of-war's man. On October 21, 1842, he deserted the *Carysfort* at San Blas.[29]

There is no means of knowing whether First Mate Frederick Raymond or Blacksmith Ephraim Walcut of the *Acushnet* actually appeared in court at Nukahiva as witnesses against Irish Jimmy, nor what was the nature of the "ample testimony at hand" they were ready to present. Presumably their charges were concerned at most with six members of the *Acushnet*'s crew: Herman Melville and Richard T. Greene, who successfully deserted on July 9, 1842, at Nukahiva; three unnamed mariners who attempted to run away but

were apprehended on July 13, 1842;[30] and John Wright, who left the whaler on September 14, 1842, during her second visit to Taiohae Bay.[31] If, as Melville was informed in 1850, Wright "went ashore half dead at the Marquesas,"[32] it seems unlikely that he was enticed from his ship by the Irishman.

The evidence, tantalizing and inconclusive, raises a number of provocative questions. Jimmy Fitz had, according to the admission of both Melville and Greene, visited their ship at Taiohae Bay. He had disposed of Toby "at a premium to the next vessel in want of hands." Was he also a party to Toby's desertion from the *Acushnet?* In the final pages of *Typee* a tabooed Oahu native, Karakoee, previously unmentioned in the book, comes to the bay of the Taipis in a boat, rescues Melville, and gets him a billet aboard a whale ship. Was Karakoee a true Polynesian, or was he a creature of fiction, a disguise for the actual James Fitz? In short, was the escape of Melville and Toby haphazard, dangerous, and full of suspense as represented in *Typee,* or was it in reality a well-planned departure, made in connivance with an Irish crimp?

For sound, prudential reasons Melville concealed in *Typee* the identity of the *Acushnet,* from which he deserted at Nukahiva, and that of her living master, Captain Valentine Pease, Jr.[33] In the book the whaler becomes the *Dolly* and her skipper "Captain Vangs." There was not occasion for a similar circumspection with regard to various Polynesians who make their appearance in *Typee.* Moana, king of the Teiis, is called by name and made the object of Melville's ridicule; and Marnoo, though referred to as a tabooed Kanaka from Pueearka, seems to have been an actual person, a chief of the Hapaas. One would expect, therefore, that in mentioning the dignitaries and warlords of Taipi valley, Melville was remembering veritable persons he had known on Nukahiva and was setting down their real names, at least in phonetic approximation. He gives in Chapter 32 of *Typee* the "names of all the principal chiefs": "Mehevi, Narmonee, Mow Mow, Kolor, Womonoo, Kalow" (32:237). Two of these leaders are prominent characters in the book. King Mehevi, "the greatest of the chiefs—the head of his clan—the sovereign of the valley" (*Typee,* 25:187), makes his appearance immediately after Melville and Toby arrive at the Taipi settlement, and assumes a role of continuing importance in the subsequent action. In parts of Chapters 25 and 26 he is the subject of a fairly extended word portrait, sufficiently particularized to suggest that it was taken from life. Mow-Mow, the one-eyed chief, is on hand when Toby and Melville make their separate escapes from Nukahiva. In each instance he attempts to restrain the mariner concerned. It is Mow-Mow whom Melville strikes with a boat hook when the Taipi seizes one of the oars of the boat in which he makes his getaway.

In official reports written during the first two years of the French occupation of Nukahiva, a considerable amount of space is given to various na-

tive groups residing on the island and to the actions of their chieftains. The several tribes of Taipis come in for a fair share of attention as do their leaders—"Opiu-ai-Nui, chef de l'une des baies des Taiipiis" (Opiu-ai-Nui, chief of one of the bays of the Taipis), "Oeputana, Vaitous et Técé,"[34] "Manas, un des chefs des Taiipiis-Oumis" (Manas, one of the chiefs of the Taipis-Oumis), "Akanao, chef et grande-prêtre de Pua" (Akanao, chief and high priest of Pua), "Pahoépékao," a chief of the Taipis-Atuatuas, "habitant l'extremité E. de Noukahiva" (dwelling on the far-eastern side of Nukahiva), and others. One seeks in vain for mention in these reports of the Mehevi who figures so largely in *Typee* or of the less consequential rulers of Melville's Taipi valley. The most surprising of the French reports—to a student of Melville's writings—is that covering the period from April to July 1843. A table at the end of this report, entitled "Relevé de la population de Noukahiva," contains a list of the "Noms Des Chefs Et Prêtres."[35] In this list one finds that Hokiahé, not Mehevi, is named as the ruler of Taipi-Vai (the valley supposed by most of Melville's biographers to be the setting of *Typee*).[36] None of the Taipi names has even a phonetic resemblance to Mehevi's.[37] Indeed, one must look to the list of notables of the Taioas to find a name that is phonetically similar—that of Mataheva, a "grand-pretresse." Among four male leaders of Taioa, two have names that bring the shock of recognition to one familiar with Melville's writings. They are "Mohi" and "Mohi-a-Taiipiis."

It is in Melville's third book, *Mardi,* that one encounters Mohi, or Braid-Beard, "sapient old Mohi," a "venerable teller of stories and legends, one of the Keepers of the Chronicles of the Kings of Mardi" (65:197). With Mohi, King Media of Odo, the philosopher Babbalanja, and the poet Yoomy, Taji, the protagonist of *Mardi,* visits the island kingdoms of the Mardian world and searches for Yillah, a beautiful, mysterious maiden who has disappeared. Thus it is that the name of Mohi, an actual tribal chief of Nukahiva, appears in a book that is frankly fictional, whereas Mehevi, unidentifiable as a real person, is prominent in a book that is avowedly a true narrative. How did Melville come by the name of Mohi? He did not find it in any of the known source books that he consulted in writing either *Mardi* or *Typee.*

One of the real Mohis of Taioa Bay was, according to the records, a chief whose sympathies lay with deserting whalemen rather than with their captains. In February 1843 while the *George and Susan* of New Bedford was cruising near Nukahiva, six of her mariners stole a whaleboat and jumped ship. Captain Howland, master of the whaler, reported the incident to the French commandant, and a boat from *La Triomphante* was dispatched in futile search for the deserters. Finding that the whaleboat was at Taioa, Moana, king of the Teiis, took it upon himself to recover it. He met with determined resistance, the Taioa chiefs spurning his offer of guns and powder. At length

the Taioa tribe became fearful that the French might bring retaliatory war to their bay. Chief Mohi went to Captain Collet and explained that he had done no greater wrong than cheerfully to harbor runaway seamen. Being reassured of the pacific intentions of the French, Mohi agreed to restore the whaleboat and the deserters if he were paid the reward held out by Captain Howland for their apprehension.[38]

There is reason to suppose that Melville, while still a foremast hand of the *Acushnet,* visited Taioa Bay by boat on July 6, three days before he jumped ship, and saw Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars in ceremonious conference with a Taioa chieftain. Overland the distance to Taioa valley, southwestward from the bay where the *Acushnet* was anchored, is about the same as that to Taipi-Vai in the opposite direction, and the way is equally rugged. Making the difficult passage by land, a runaway seaman would have encountered a mighty waterfall, fully as magnificent as any described in *Typee.*[39]

Again the evidence is unfortunately piecemeal, and again it suggests certain questions the answers to which are not readily available. Did Melville spend his month as a deserter on Nukahiva among the Taioas, who were amiably disposed towards absconding mariners, rather than in Taipi-Vai? Was his acquaintance with Taipis perhaps limited for the most part to a Taioan chief, one Mohi-a-Taipis? Did he, in reading source books of travel that magnified the fierceness of the Taipis and described their settlements,[40] decide upon a more dramatic setting for *Typee* than that which he had actually known?

CHAPTER 17

The Troublesome Crew of the Lucy Ann

> For my own part, I felt that I was under a foreign flag; that an English consul was close at hand, and that sailors seldom obtain justice. It was best to be prudent. Still, so much did I sympathize with the men, so far, at least, as their real grievances were concerned; and so convinced was I of the cruelty and injustice of what Captain Guy seemed bent upon, that if need were, I stood ready to raise a hand.
>
> —*Omoo,* Chapter 20

Five months after he sailed on a whaling voyage in the barque *Lucy Ann* of Sydney, Australia, Captain Henry Ventom lost ascendancy over the rebellious crew and had to appeal to external authority for aid in restoring order. The small and well-seasoned whaler—87 feet, 7 inches long; 23 feet, 10 inches wide; only 5 feet, 3 inches between decks; almost 214 tons burthen; and built a merchantman in the year of Melville's birth—left Sydney on February 14, 1842.[1] She carried a ship's company of about thirty-one officers and men,[2] enough to lower four boats, and had a roving commission that allowed her mariners to hunt whales, seals, "or other animals or substances or articles."[3] For a short time at least the voyage proceeded prosperously and without any notable discord. Sailing to the eastward, the Australian whalemen were lucky enough to capture 60 barrels of sperm oil during the first month at sea,[4] and they may have stowed down an additional 60 barrels before the first cruise was over.[5] They had worked their way along the Line nearly to 125° west by June 27, when they spoke the barque *Columbus* of New Bedford, Captain Tristram D. Pease. The record of this meeting of rival whalers contains no hint of friction aboard the *Lucy Ann;* nothing is mentioned except a transaction in which the Americans bought "Peas Powder and Paint."[6] It was after this cruise, when he brought the *Lucy Ann* to a recruiting port, that Captain Ventom's competence as a whaling master was first seriously put to the test.

Boats of the warship *L'Embuscade* on July 7, 1842, towed the *Lucy Ann* into Resolution Bay at Santa Christina (Tahuata), one of the Marquesas Islands. Told that he should announce to the French commandant his reasons for bringing the craft to anchor, Captain Ventom went ashore and sought out the colonial headquarters at Vaitahu. As Captain E. Halley later recalled it,

the Australian whaling master's tone and manner were at first very impertinent, perhaps because he resented having to explain himself or because the residence of the French officer was not sufficiently prepossessing to convince him that he was addressing an important island official.[7] Despite Captain Ventom's cheeky attitude—one that would hardly have endeared him to a company of whalemen—Commandant Halley granted him permission to trade with Chief Youtali and his tribesmen and offered the services of the French establishment. For about ten days the men of the *Lucy Ann* took on board in an orderly fashion wood, water, pigs, and other refreshments. Then trouble began to brew.

In attempting to explain events of the stay in port, James German, first mate of the *Lucy Ann,* was (or pretended to be) at a loss to account for the behavior of the mariners. They "had good and plenty of provisions, good treatment and liberty time while in port," he later testified.[8] Even so, either they were an exceedingly villainous and insubordinate group, or there must have been some provocation for their actions. Officers of whale ships who were dissatisfied with their lot usually chose to be honorably discharged; Gabriel King, second mate of the *Lucy Ann,* deserted.[9] Carpenter John Murray and five of the foremast hands deserted too, stealing a whaleboat on July 18 and carrying with them the carpentry tools of the barque.[10] Two other men ran away at about the same time.[11]

With almost one third of his crew suddenly gone, Captain Ventom, in a more becoming spirit of humility, called upon the French commandant for help. Believing that his deserters had found refuge at Hanamenu Bay on the nearby island of La Dominica (Hiva Oa), he asked the French naval officer to institute a search in that direction. Captain Halley sent his official boat there on an unsuccessful hunt, but a later search in Hapatoni Bay on Santa Christina resulted in the recovery of the stolen whaleboat and carpentry implements.[12] Armed with sabres and pistols, a party of French man-of-war's men returned to Hapatoni Bay in the evening of July 23 to beat the bushes for Australian deserters. They captured two men and, bringing them back the next day, locked them in irons. Another deserter was manacled aboard *La Bucéphale* on the following day.

By this time things had come to such a pass aboard the *Lucy Ann* that Captain Ventom, fearful of the night, asked that an armed guard of Frenchmen come aboard on July 25 to offer protection to him and his officers. His recalcitrant whalemen were submissive that evening, but next morning, after the guard had returned to *La Bucéphale,* they expressed their resentment at Captain Ventom's technique of intimidation. Before noon a boatload of French seamen, passing near the *Lucy Ann,* found the Australian crew in open revolt. Eight of the most mutinous men were seized, carried aboard the

French transport, and imprisoned. Even then the whaling master continued to be apprehensive. On each of the remaining nights in port he asked for the protection aboard ship of an armed party of Frenchmen.

His provisioning of the barque completed, Captain Ventom decided to hoist anchor on July 30, and sailors from *La Bucéphale* rowed over to help tow the craft out to sea.[13] From French officers he received eight of the men who had been disciplined in the transport, but the prospect of continuing his voyage with two such dangerous and contentious fellows as George Lefevre and John Peter aboard alarmed the master of the *Lucy Ann.* He therefore sent a written request to the commandant, urging him to hold them in irons at Vaitahu until such a time as the flagship of the French squadron could transport them to Valparaiso for trial. Because of the delay occasioned in effecting this action, the Australian whaler spent another night in port—with the usual guard of Frenchmen on board. When the *Lucy Ann* sailed the next day, it was not without pleasure that Captain Halley watched her go hull down on the distant horizon. As he wrote Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, the Australian barque had caused him nothing but annoyance and embarrassment during her visit.[14]

Once more at sea, Captain Ventom found that his disciplinary problems were not yet settled. Indignant at the treatment of Lefevre and Peter, the returned revolters who had been imprisoned aboard *La Bucéphale* agreed to defy the orders of their master, and for a time they did. But as Henry Smith, one of the group, later complained in a letter to Lefevre, "it so happened that those who talked loudest were the first to return to their duty."[15] Smith was the last of the foremast hands to go forward, remaining sullenly manacled in double irons until he found resistance of no further avail.

Shaping her course to the north, the *Lucy Ann* seems to have touched at La Dominica on August 2 long enough for Captain Ventom to ship a new boatsteerer, John Garritson, to replace one of his departed harpooners.[16]

The barque reached Nukahiva on August 7. That day watch officers of *La Reine Blanche* observed an English whaler lying-to before Taiohae Bay,[17] but they made no record thereafter of such a craft's entering and coming to anchor. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that either the *Lucy Ann* lay off and on the island for some time or that she went into one of the other large bays, Taioa or Comptroller's.

Captain Ventom's intent was to make up the complement of his depleted crew by shipping mariners who were footloose on the island. Presumably he did not count on having additional desertions. But after a boatload of his men had gone ashore, John B. Troy, the steward, William Matthews, an ordinary seaman, and Henry Smith, most obdurate of the recent revolters, escaped into the woods.[18] A party of Nukahivans, engaged by Captain Ventom to run

down these whalemen, set out in pursuit and on the following day caught all three of them. When the humiliated Troy was returned on board, the natives delivered also a blanket he had taken with him. Benbow Byrne, one of the boatsteerers, opened it and out rolled a good quantity of medical supplies the steward had stolen. Later, in the presence of Mate James German, Troy ruefully blamed the theft upon his having been drunk at the time of going ashore,[19] but such an explanation did not mitigate his punishment. He was relieved of his specialist duties and ordered to take his possessions forward into the forecastle.

The same day that his deserters were captured, Captain Ventom signed on at Nukahiva a new carpenter, Joseph Jackson, and two foremast hands, Charles Watts and Nicholas Utley.[20] Only a week before, Jackson, "being unwell and desirous of leaving the ship," had been discharged from the *James Maury* of Salem by Captain Benjamin R. Hussey.[21] Utley was an American whaleman too, a native of Swanton, Vermont, who had sailed from Edgartown in 1837.[22]

Exactly one month after he had unceremoniously run from the *Acushnet,* Melville joined the crew of the *Lucy Ann,*[23] but if the preliminaries to his engaging for a whale hunt in the Australian barque included a dramatic rescue from angered Taipis, the extensive records of the voyage fail to mention it. At the time Melville may have fancied that he had risen somewhat advantageously in the fishery. He was now an able seaman, no longer a green hand, and his 1/120th lay was considerably "shorter" than that he had been granted nineteen months before at Fairhaven.

In a forecastle less crowded than it had formerly been, Melville quickly learned the details of recent and still smouldering dissension aboard the barque. If, as he declared in *Typee,* most of the crew of his first whaler were united only in submitting without resistance to their captain's will,[24] such was not the case with the men of the *Lucy Ann.* Of the foremast hands, the refractory members outnumbered those who remained loyal. William Brown and Immanuel Senora, able seamen, and Charles Cross and Robert Davis, ordinary seamen—all of whom had been with the barque since her departure from Sydney—continued to support the administration aft,[25] and John Nash, an ordinary seaman, presumably remained neutral.[26] But the others, although giving the appearance of being "perfectly satisfied with their treatment on board,"[27] had not forgotten that they had scores to settle with Captain Ventom. The grumblers numbered at least seven men in the forecastle: Henry Smith, able seaman; David Fraser, James Watts, Henry Burke, James Smyth, and William Matthews, ordinary seamen; and John B. Troy, recently the steward but now turned before the mast.[28] This majority group was joined by Charles Watts, who later assumed the role of a ringleader.[29] Where Nicholas

Utley's sympathies lay it is not possible to know, for he was soon too ill to take active part in the forthcoming events. Melville, last of the recruits from Nukahiva, was to cast his lot with the discontented, but only after extended deliberation. For the time being he may have found that his lameness offered immunity against having immediately to take sides.

One of the probable causes of early trouble during the voyage was the lack of a sufficient number of officers to administer the orders of Captain Ventom and maintain discipline aboard ship or to lend authoritative direction in the whaleboats. As a vessel sailing with an initial complement of over thirty men and lowering four boats, the *Lucy Ann* had made her first cruise with only two mates. Even assuming that Henry Ventom was a "fighting captain" who wielded a lance in the whale hunts, one of his boats had been without a leader of adequate rank and experience. From the beginning James German, the stocky and evidently capable first mate, had found that his duties exceeded those of most chief officers aboard whalers. They grew increasingly onerous as the voyage continued. At Santa Christina he had lost his only junior mate and two of the four illiterate boatsteerers. A replacement harpooner, John Garritson, who signed on at La Dominica for the cruise only,[30] proved to be an unfortunate choice, a petty officer whose hand was soon against his captain.[31] The other ranking members of a ship's company now numbering twenty-three officers and men—Boatsteerers George Antonio and Benbow Byrne, Cooper Andrew Blackburn, Carpenter Joseph Jackson, and Cook James Hall—remained faithful to their whaling master.[32] They were incapable, however, of preventing the events that would soon take place.

Still short-handed, Captain Ventom moved on to the neighboring Marquesan island of La Dominica. At Hanamenu Bay—where native girls were equally as voluptuous as those on Nukahiva and equally as willing, for the gift of a few yards of calico or a cotton shirt, to become the overnight guests of visiting whalemen[33]—the *Lucy Ann* evidently spent some time before getting additional mariners. It was not until Friday, August 26, that Captain Ventom had made up his quota of foremast hands by signing on four able seamen, William Bunnell, John White, Amado Sylva, and a Polynesian who, for want of a better name, was called "Friday."[34] However sorely in need of men, the master of the *Lucy Ann* would have thought twice before shipping Sylva could he have known that this Portuguese sailor had in the preceding November been one of a party of five deserters who stole a whaleboat from the ship *Nile* at Tumbez, Peru. No beachcombers were found on La Dominica who were qualified to serve as junior mates of the vessel.

With unwarranted optimism and what seems to have been a woeful ignorance of the personnel needs of his barque, Captain Ventom turned westward on a second cruise for sperm whales. He was, he believed, "then perfectly well

in health & strength" and so were "all on board with the exception of five of the crew who were ailing & ill of the venereal."[35] But only a day or two after leaving port he became painfully afflicted and soon was incapable of walking. On September 4 he was confined to his cabin,[36] suffering from a deep-seated abscess in the perineum.[37]

If Mate James German had felt during the first six months of the voyage that his broad shoulders had been uncommonly burdened, the new demands of his situation were of a sort calculated to drive him to the habits of intemperance with which he was later charged. Besides having to attend a captain whose illness became increasingly serious, he had the combined duties and responsibilities of acting master, first mate, and second mate in command of a crew torn by uneasiness and disharmony. In such a plight he gained at least some measure of relief, though certainly not enough, when Benbow Byrne was promoted to the position of acting third mate.[38] Of the two remaining boatsteerers, George Antonio continued to be a faithful helper, but John Garritson became in time a troublemaker, allying himself with the refractory men of the forecastle.

This was no way to begin a whaling cruise. Alarmed at Captain Ventom's condition and realizing that a successful hunt for leviathans was out of the question, Mate German privately took matters in his own hands. Before the *Lucy Ann* had been much more than ten days at sea, German quietly went to the charts, worked out a course for Tahiti, and ordered a change in the barque's heading.[39] Because he kept to himself his new intentions and became mysterious about the ship's navigation, the men seem to have had for a while the perturbing impression of serving a craft whose captain was dying and whose mate, on some wild caprice, was leading them to a new whaling ground. But by September 8 the secret was out. Captain Ventom in his suffering thought desperately of Tahiti too and instructed German to steer for port.[40] Crowding all sail, the *Lucy Ann* bowled straight toward the land. She arrived outside the narrow reef opening abreast of Papeete on Monday, September 19 (or 20 by the Tahitian calendar), a day when cannon of the French frigate *La Reine Blanche* in the harbor could be heard firing two twenty-one-gun salutes.[41]

To the surprise and undoubted disappointment of the crew, no signal was given for a pilot to guide the barque to an anchorage. Instead, according to orders from their bedridden captain, the *Lucy Ann* kept at sea outside the beckoning harbor while James German was rowed in to get medical assistance. The mate returned in the afternoon with Dr. Francis Johnstone, a resident English surgeon, who examined Captain Ventom, found him dangerously ill, and urged him to be removed on shore for extended treatment.[42] On the following day or two days later (the evidence for this most fully documented

portion of Melville's whaling career is exceedingly confusing in the matter of dates because of inconsistent testimony),[43] German lowered Captain Ventom in a whaleboat and took him into Papeete, where a house had been engaged by Charles B. Wilson, the acting English consul.[44] Meanwhile the restive whalemen, itching to go ashore and uncertain as to the future, were left to follow the orders of Benbow Byrne and keep the *Lucy Ann* at a safe distance from dangerous coral reefs surrounding the island.

In the afternoon German brought off Dr. Johnstone and Acting Consul Wilson. Summoning the whalemen aft, Wilson informed them that it was Captain Ventom's wish that German should serve as master of the barque while he was recuperating on shore. He then questioned the men as to their willingness to make a short cruise for whales with their interim commander. Either the proposal came as a surprise or the mariners were momentarily awed by the consul, for no one expressed immediate objection. Spokesmen for the crew asked only that the *Lucy Ann* have a full complement of officers and men and that the sick be removed on shore. The interview did not, however, go off as pleasantly as Wilson had expected. Before he left the barque, John Garritson, Charles Watts, William Bunnell, and Amado Sylva announced that they would no longer perform their duties. Having signed under Captain Ventom, not the mate, they maintained that their agreement was broken when the master left his vessel.[45] Furthermore, they had shipped for the cruise only, which, as far as they were concerned, ended when the *Lucy Ann* reached Tahiti. Wilson impatiently denied the validity of their claims. New as he was to his office, he had behind him experience as a ship's master[46] that let him recognize that the arguments he heard were those of "sea lawyers," not sustained by the British marine code.

When Dr. Johnstone mustered the men who professed to be too sick for further service, Herman Melville, fully as reluctant to continue the voyage as his more vociferous shipmates, hopefully offered his lame leg as evidence of serious disability.[47] To his disappointment, the surgeon refused to grant him a medical discharge. Only Henry Smith and Nicholas Utley were found to be "incapacitated through sickness" and subject to release as destitute seamen.[48] Melville, John B. Troy, William Matthews, and James Smyth were, according to Dr. Johnstone's examination, "fit to go on the voyage." He felt that "with care" they would in a week or two be capable of active duty as whalehunters.[49]

That night Wilson gave Captain Ventom an optimistic report on his visit aboard the *Lucy Ann,* apparently making no reference to the four rebellious mariners.[50] As he had promised, he found on the following day two junior mates for the barque, John H. Fish and Abraham Pierce, probably Americans, and two Polynesian seamen, Tihemu and Maharo.[51] Captain Ventom, who

had no illusions about the good faith of his whalemen, took the precautionary measure of hiring a Tahitian boat to take these new recruits to the *Lucy Ann.*[52] But for some reason they did not go at once to the barque, and another day of uncertainty passed for the crew that waited outside Papeete Bay.

In the meantime the minority revolt that had been rebuffed during the acting consul's visit had gained force. Claiming that they were, according to Dr. Johnstone's examination, exempt from labor, Henry Smith, James Smyth, Utley, Troy, Matthews, and Melville declined that evening to join their duty watches. Six others refused to turn to. This group included Garritson, Charles Watts, and Sylva (but, strangely, not William Bunnell) from the new men who had spoken up before Wilson and Henry Burke, James Watts, and David Fraser, members of the original ship's company.[53] Actually matters did not get completely out of hand, for by the following night at least two of the rebels were back on duty.[54] The hard-bitten German seems to have been capable of shouting down the grumblers and maintaining some semblance of discipline. His acting third mate, however, who headed the alternate watch, evidently lacked the capacity for resolute command.

During Friday evening, September 23, an incident of minor violence brought a determined reaction from the surly whalemen. When Benbow Byrne and the first watch of the night reported for duty, German, without sensing that a crisis was in the making, remained on deck only long enough to instruct his junior mate to set the jib and the foresail.[55] In less than an hour Byrne and James Watts were fighting. After refusing to obey one of Byrne's orders, Watts contemptuously replied, "Ask my arse" to the command that he haul down the foretack.[56] Byrne struck Watts, and in the quarrel Troy took sides with the foremast hand. Some time later Watts, vowing to perform no more duty, boldly invaded the captain's cabin to air his grievances. When German came on deck, instead of disciplining the insubordinate seaman and defending the authority of his fellow officer, he reprimanded Byrne.[57] Whatever his motives might have been, the gesture failed to mollify his assembled watch-standers. They were sufficiently aroused to walk away from their duty stations in a group, swearing that they would no longer serve James German or the *Lucy Ann.*

Early next morning when German mustered the crew, ten of the men were still in revolt.[58] William Bunnell had rejoined the group, but Herman Melville, for reasons of his own and evidently without appearing an apostate to the disgruntled, had departed the ranks. Angered at the troublemakers in his charge and at Consul Wilson's failure to send out additional officers and men, German decided to ignore his orders. At seven o'clock he bore up, taking the *Lucy Ann* into Papeete harbor.[59] The barque came to anchor near a Nantucket whaler, the *Statira,* Captain Barzillai Folger,[60] and the French

frigate *La Reine Blanche,* which Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars had brought to Tahiti some three weeks before on another imperialistic mission.[61]

Consul Wilson was exasperated at finding the *Lucy Ann* in port and at being asked by Captain Ventom to take charge of the craft.[62] As if the recent turn of island events was not sufficiently perturbing, what with the annoyances that came in the wake of Dupetit-Thouars having trained the guns of his warship upon the town and forced Queen Pomaré to make Tahiti a French protectorate, here were recalcitrant whalemen to compound his troubles. Wilson went quickly to the *Lucy Ann* and demanded to know why German had not kept the barque in the offing. When the acting master insisted that he no longer had enough willing mariners to work ship, Wilson directed him to call the men aft and place on one side all who refused to do their duty. The revolters showed no inclination to be bullied, and Wilson left the barque, promising that they should soon have reason to regret their obstinacy. He returned in the early afternoon, followed by an armed cutter from *La Reine Blanche.* A French officer came aboard and put under arrest Garritson, Bunnell, Sylva, Charles Watts, James Watts, Troy, Burke, Fraser, Matthews, and James Smyth.[63] They were taken to the frigate and manacled alongside George Lefevre and John Peter, earlier rebels of the *Lucy Ann* who had recently been picked up at Santa Christina.

If the whalemen found it strange that an acting English consul in a civilized port should need to use the brig of a French man-of-war for confining his unruly countrymen, they must have soon realized the limitations of Wilson's authority under the new regime at Papeete. Two days after the ten revolters were imprisoned in the frigate, Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, who was about to sail for Valparaiso and had no intentions of taking them with him, ordered them to be put on shore and delivered up to the English consulate. This time, after another interview at which the rebels showed no semblance of contrition, they found that the worst Wilson could do was to turn them over to the native constabulary.[64] Along famous Broom Road a Tahitian policeman led them about three quarters of a mile to a spot where they found a makeshift calaboose, an open-air building containing a massive pair of wooden stocks.[65] With their legs confined in these crude fetters, the prisoners spent uncomfortable nights, but they were freed each morning and allowed to go at large under sympathetic surveillance. Their cordial treatment was attributable in part to their compliance with the orders of their keepers, but was primarily due to the fact that the native authorities disliked the acting English consul.[66]

Either on Tuesday, September 27, or Thursday, September 29 (the evidence once more being much in conflict), Wilson had the stubborn whalemen marched into town for still another interview.[67] By now these affairs were

invested with comic overtones. The setting changed with each new scene and a few additional characters were introduced, but the recurrent situation was only slightly altered: a blustering, annoyed public official trying to intimidate lawbreakers into fulfilling a contract that they clamorously refused to honor. This time Herman Melville offered a variation upon the basic theme. In the presence of Captain Ventom and a Dr. Myrick, Wilson again questioned the rebels, only to hear them reaffirm their fixed purpose not to work aboard the *Lucy Ann,* even if Ventom should return as her leader. Before the irate consul sent the men back to prison, Melville stepped forward to announce that his loyalty to the Australian barque was at an end and that he "would share the same as the others who refused to do their duty."[68] His declaration must have given a dramatic turn to the interview, but at least to Melville's shipmates it was probably not unexpected. Clearly he did not want to serve the *Lucy Ann* any longer, as his futile effort to be medically discharged must have suggested. In port he had been a crony of Henry Smith, writing for him a letter to George Lefevre, one of the mutineers imprisoned aboard *La Reine Blanche.*[69] Now that the French frigate with its ominous brig was gone, Melville had nothing worse to fear than informal restriction at the local calaboose. Finding such a prospect less distasteful than that of continued duty aboard the *Lucy Ann,* he cheerfully stood with the ten revolters while Wilson sought to impress them with the illegality of their actions. The acting consul read their articles of agreement, with heavy emphasis on one section:

> and it is hereby further declared & agreed by the persons parties hereto of the second part that in case of any of them being disorderly insubordinate or mutinous or not in every respect doing their duty as becometh good and faithful Officers and seamen respectively that the party or parties so offending shall not only be liable to all legal penalties for the same but also forfeit the whole lay or share of the cargo to be procured as would otherwise be due to him or them.[70]

Without much to lose in their shares of a not very successful voyage and little to expect in the way of punishment, the still unrepentant seamen marched triumphantly off to the stocks.

In a week or so Captain Ventom was beginning to feel well enough to make plans for pursuing the *Lucy Ann*'s voyage. Now completely out of patience with the revolters, Wilson decided to have a final showdown. After taking the depositions of Captain Ventom, Dr. Johnstone, Mate German, Acting Third Mate Byrne, and eight mariners of the loyal crew, he wrote members of the French Provisional Council, asking their "assistance in deciding an exceedingly difficult case."[71] The council politely refused to take part in the interview, but suggested that Wilson "compel the prisoners by all the means which you

have at your command to return them to their duty."[72] All parties concerned were summoned to the British Consulate on October 5, and Richard Barff, a resident of Tahiti, sat in as an additional witness.[73] The long depositions of accusation were read to the prisoners. These documents all suggest that a group of well-treated whalemen had become unruly lawbreakers without just cause. What the eleven men said in reply was not made an official part of the record. One lone, partial note, however, hints at the objections of the revolters. In a list of their names, beside that of William Matthews is written: "one day's allowance stopped" and beside John Garritson's: "Mr. German not fit to take charge for continually [*sic*] drunkenness."[74] Whatever their full grievances might have been, the revolters were as unyielding as ever. With vague threats that when a British man-of-war should come to Tahiti they would be properly punished, Wilson had the eleven men recommitted to the calaboose.[75]

Ten days later the barque *Lucy Ann* was gone. Offering generous advances to unengaged whalemen ashore, Captain Ventom by October 6 had made up his complement for a cruise.[76] He had evidently learned the error of trying to command a craft that was short on officers, for this time he was prudent enough to have in his service three mates and *five* harpooners.[77] His fourteen new foremast hands included destitute seamen who had recently been brought to Tahiti after the loss of their ship, the *Cadmus* of Fairhaven, on a coral island;[78] a mariner discharged from one of the two or so whalers then in port;[79] and a scattering of "'Gees," Polynesians, and beachcombers. Two of ten loyal followers were promoted—Immanuel Senora to the position of boatsteerer and Charles Cross to that of acting steward—but Benbow Byrne, after his brief, unsuccessful tour of duty as acting third mate, was returned to the ranks of the boatsteerers.[80] Captain Ventom sold 280 gallons of sperm oil on October 12 to foot the bill occasioned by his illness and the revolt of his men.[81] And on October 15 the *Lucy Ann* hoisted anchor, glided out of the harbor, and passed forever from Melville's life.[82] She had no further serious trouble with defiant whalemen, but her luck in the fishery remained as miserable as before.[83]

Although restrained to some extent by his indulgent jailkeepers, Melville had sufficient freedom of movement to get a good view of the pageant of Tahiti, 1842-style, and to form further positive opinions concerning the evils of civilization. With his fellow prisoners he had rejoiced in the victory over Acting Consul Wilson and he had joined in their carefree activities. Still, it was not long before the novelty of his situation palled. Renewed health, restlessness, and the prick of conscience urged him to be once more on the move. In visits to the stocks, Dr. Johnstone had continued to treat Melville, but his last prescription of an embrocation was made on October 19.[84] Not

long after this date Melville made his escape from Tahiti. American whale ships began to arrive at Papeete in number, among them the *Draco* from his sailing port, Fairhaven, to remind him of home and the good intentions with which he had gone to sea twenty-one months earlier and to make him feel shame at his present predicament. The *Eliza* of Salem had come on October 5, the *Mars* of New Bedford on October 12, the *Draco* on October 14, the *Samuel Robertson* of New Bedford and the *Bowditch* of Providence on October 17, and the *Atlantic* of Nantucket on October 18.[85] Masters of these vessels, after discharging seamen and losing others through desertion, were on the lookout for experienced whalemen, but Melville knew that with his bad name in port he stood little chance of qualifying as a recruit. He may have known also that Acting Consul Wilson would have exerted every effort to keep his prisoners from joining any of the whalers in port.[86] There were, however, other means of escape.

The local authorities, whom Wilson later charged with wilful negligence, began to allow their prisoners greater freedom, taking them "to the other side of the Island on pleasure and on private business of natives of the Island."[87] During such excursions four of the prisoners slipped away from Tahiti. Eimeo (Moorea), a beautiful island some ten miles to the west, where the unhappy Queen Pomaré had fled and where American whale ships sometimes came in search of provisions, seemed a good prospect for refuge and adventure. It was there that Herman Melville and his friend John B. Troy, the erstwhile embezzling steward of the *Lucy Ann,* went shortly after October 19.

Like *Typee,* Melville's second book professed to be "a circumstantial history of adventures befalling the author" (*Omoo,* Preface, xiii). That *Omoo* is something else than veracious autobiography, however, is made fully evident when one compares the events set down in its early chapters with those recorded in the official papers concerning the *Lucy Ann* revolt. Occurrences that belonged to the visit of the *Lucy Ann* to Santa Christina before Melville joined the craft are appropriated as part of his personal narrative.[88] Two foremast hands die at sea in *Omoo,*[89] but during the actual brief cruise in which Melville participated there were no casualties aboard ship. Against Melville's story of an ill-tempered carpenter who fought with the mate and expressed contempt for his captain,[90] there is record of an altogether loyal man, Joseph Jackson, who joined the barque at about the same time that Melville did. John B. Troy, the disgraced steward of the *Lucy Ann,* could hardly have been the precise counterpart of Dr. Long Ghost in *Omoo,* an attractive, urbane ship's surgeon who after a heated difference of opinion with his captain on a subject of politics went to live gaily in the forecastle.[91] Similarly, Benbow Byrne, illiterate but capable of dictating a comprehensible deposition and of assuming temporary command of the barque, becomes in *Omoo* a scarcely

civilized Maori harpooner whose vocabulary included only a smattering of nautical language and sailor profanity.[92] Had the actual Benbow, following his fight with Charles Watts, tried in revenge to drive the barque upon a coral reef at midnight (as did Bembo after fighting Sydney Ben in *Omoo*),[93] he certainly would not have been retained as a petty officer of the craft. Although Melville did not join the revolters until after they were put ashore from *La Reine Blanche,* he represents himself as being among the men imprisoned in the French frigate.[94] And his approximately three weeks of actual imprisonment at the calaboose extend to twice that long in *Omoo.* Still, it is clear that Melville followed the general outlines of the *Lucy Ann* revolt when he wrote his second book, even if he invented spectacular episodes or purloined them from source books when he felt the need, took liberties with date and time, and tampered with fact in order to tell an exciting tale.

A similar technique of composition was employed in that part of the book that concerns his adventures on the island of Eimeo. External evidence supports the general line of Melville's story, for several contemporary readers who had the curiosity to follow Melville's trail in the Society Islands found reliable reports of persons and events mentioned in the second half of *Omoo* and validated portions of his account of the experiences on Eimeo.[95] Even so, it would be a mistake to accept the whole narrative without question. Melville spent no more than nineteen days on the island, instead of the two months of *Omoo.* Furthermore, his essentially stirring experiences in the Society Islands ended with the sailing of the *Lucy Ann.* The second half of *Omoo* is, therefore, even more of a compound of fact and fiction, of invention and borrowing than that which concerned the *Lucy Ann* and Tahiti.

According to the romanticized version of his adventures in *Omoo,* after hiring out as laborers to two planters on Eimeo, Melville and Dr. Long Ghost (John B. Troy) escaped from Papeete at midnight in a small boat. Their immediate destination was the valley of Maatea, almost due west on the neighboring island, where a cockney called Shorty and a tall, backwoods Yankee named Zeke maintained an enterprising plantation. There is evidently some truth to this story. Melville and Troy were enticed to leave Tahiti and come to Eimeo by two Yankee brothers who recruited them as field-laborers. One of the brothers, William G. Libbey, published his "Autobiography of a Quondam Sailor" serially in the *Shaker Manifesto* in 1878. He identifies Shorty as a young Londoner named Edward and Zeke as an American named James Martin.[96]

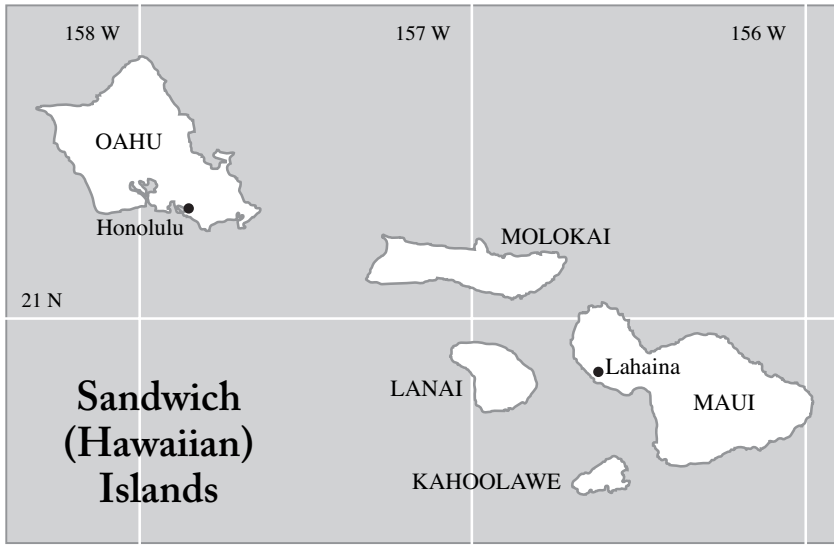
In *Omoo* Shorty and Zeke, impressed by Melville's companion, proved unusually sociable and lenient employers, varying the routine of work with long rest periods, sightseeing expeditions, and holidays devoted to hunting bullock and wild boar. But the toil of hoeing Tumbez potatoes and lugging

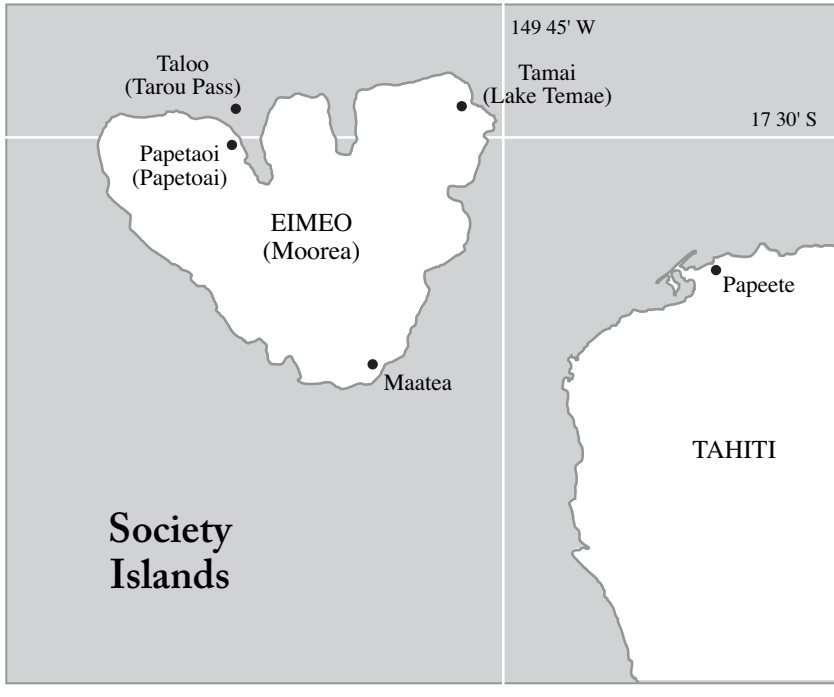
them to the beach, nearly a quarter of a mile away, was too arduous for the adventurers. It was not long before they resolved to break their oral contracts as politely as possible and be off for Tamai, a solitary inland village on the banks of a beautiful lake.

Very likely the visit to this idyllic community, as Melville told it, was in the main fictitious, for its most prominent incident—an old-fashioned native dance performed in the moonlight by lovely backsliding maidens of Tamai—came from a leftover chapter of *Typee,*[97] and the village and lake are curiously mislocated on the map that appeared in the first edition of *Omoo.*[98] However that may be, Melville represented the village as one of such primitive felicity that he and his companion were on the point of settling down indefinitely. But even as they were turning over plans for a gratifying future in this beachcomber's paradise, they heard warning cries that white men, perhaps missionaries, were approaching. Fearful of being seized as vagrants or runaway seamen, they scampered into the woods and hastened back to the safety of Maatea and the hospitality of their farmer friends. They had, according to Melville's chronology, spent a week at Tamai.

With characteristic restlessness Melville and his tall friend were soon again on the move. This time they headed for Papetaoi and the nearby harbor of Taloo on the opposite side of the island, expecting to find there "a splendid opening" (*Omoo,* 65:246) for adventurers. The prospects, as they figured them, included possible preferment at the court of Queen Pomaré, who, in nursing her wrath against French conquerors, was believed to be rallying about her a group of foreigners; or failing that, work on a nearby sugar plantation; or, if they tired of the land, the opportunity of going whaling in a ship that was then at anchor in Taloo Bay. Armed with an informal passport, written for them with great pains by Zeke, the rovers set out on foot. Overland the journey would not have been much more than seven miles, but Melville and Long Ghost were in no hurry. Preferring to get in the maximum amount of sight-seeing and leisurely adventuring en route, they went by the beach, a trip of from 20 to 30 miles. During a week of easy travel, strolling and going by canoe, the wayfarers tarried at various havens of native hospitality—at the home of a generous aged couple; at the hamlet of Loohooloo in the diverting company of three mischievous maidens, Day-born, Night-born, and Wakeful, or Bright-eyed; and at the hermit house of Varvy, an old island bootlegger.

Arriving at Papetaoi with half-blistered feet after an unpleasant passage over a hot tract of the beach, the travellers were welcomed by another cordial host, Ereemear Po-Po. For about five weeks, *Omoo*-wise, the fairly pretentious dwelling of this wealthy native, a deacon of the local church, became the headquarters of Melville and Long Ghost. They were treated as members of the household, given new sailor clothes and fine meals, and allowed to lounge





Map by John McAusland

at their ease throughout the day. From Ereemear's home the rovers sallied forth on rambles to various parts of the village. Several times they visited the palace grounds of Queen Pomaré but were not permitted to go beyond the low picket of bamboos that surrounded the area. At the sugar plantation of a Mr. Bell they were civilly entertained by the jovial proprietor and were given some excellent sherry, but they failed in their purpose to get another view of the lovely Mrs. Bell, who happened that day to be at Papeete. Previously Melville had seen her riding along a bridle-path and had found her the most beautiful white woman that he had encountered in Polynesia. Melville and his friend visited the whaler in the harbor too and approvingly sampled her beef and hard tack, but were discouraged by her mariners from joining ship's company. They went on Sundays to worship with the Po-Pos at Taloo chapel, and they attended some outlandish trials at the native court, at which there was no swearing in of witnesses, no regular jury, and tumult rather than order.

Through the services of one of Pomaré's retainers, Marbonna, a Nukahivan with whom Melville had frequently chatted at the bamboo barrier, the adventurers were finally admitted to the queen's grounds. Guided by a pretty little damsel of the court, they made the rounds of royal buildings. When they entered the central edifice, they found an incongruous assortment of objects: elegant rosewood writing desks and greasy calabashes, gilded candelabra and rolls of old tapa, fine European porcelain and primitive fish spears, a coconut shell with its musty contents spilled on a folio volume of Hogarth. Her Tahitian majesty at length appeared in the great hall, and, going to one of the distant recesses, sat down to eat without knife or spoon a repast of fish and poi. Despite interference from alarmed attendants, the emboldened white men pressed forward for an audience, but when they came before the surprised and indignant queen, she summarily dismissed them with a curt wave of her hand.

Rebuffed at court, Melville and Long Ghost determined upon going to sea. They sought out the visiting Yankee captain on one of his trips ashore and offered to ship for a whaling cruise. At first he seemed to be prejudiced against these candidates in blue English sailor frocks, especially against Melville's tall companion. In a later interview, however, when Melville found him in a bibulous, expansive mood, he won the captain's favor. Melville was cheerfully told to enter his name on the ship's articles the next day, but as for Long Ghost, he was a "bird" from Sydney and the whaling master would have no part of him. This decision did not trouble Melville's friend, who was content to seek further adventures ashore. In a few days the whaler was ready to sail. Bidding farewell to his beachcombing friend and his native hosts, Melville went on board. By the following noon he was once more a whale-hunter on the wide

rolling Pacific Ocean. So, according to *Omoo,* did Melville and Long Ghost spend their days at Eimeo.

In preparing a revised edition of *Typee* in 1846, Melville moderated his strictures against the missionaries and other civilizers of Polynesia by making liberal excisions of passages that had proved offensive to his American publishers, Wiley and Putnam, and to a clamorous group of pious readers.[99] But when he undertook the composition of *Omoo,* he returned to the attack with increased vigor.[100] He vowed that he intended no harm to the missionaries, that he desired only "to set forth things as they actually exist" (*Omoo,* 48:184), and he took pains in the two chapters on "Tahiti As It Is" to ballast his thesis of reprobation with generous corroborative quotations from the writings of other visitors to the island, notably the Right Reverend Michael Russell and the Quaker Daniel Wheeler, the voyager Otto von Kotzebue, Captain F. W. Beechy, and Lieutenant Charles Wilkes. His thesis was that, after sixty years of devoted and intense effort on the part of those who labored to make them a Christian people, the Tahitians were far worse off than formerly. Basic to his argument was the feeling that "there is, perhaps, no race upon earth, less disposed, by nature, to the monitions of Christianity, than the people of the South Sea" (45:174). He argues that, to the simple, unreflecting Tahitians, indolent of body and mind, constitutionally voluptuous, and averse to restraint, the religious dogmas of the nineteenth century were incomprehensible, and its strict moralities and mores were unpalatable and deleterious. The missionaries had greatly exaggerated their achievements, Melville felt. In fact, he had found only two truly Christian natives in all Polynesia, Ereemear Po-Po and his wife, Afreetee. Hounded by native policemen (Kannakippers), the Tahitians had cultivated a protective hypocrisy; saddled with severe laws, they were more given than ever to surreptitious licentiousness. Their traditional habits of work, the making of tapa and the fabricating of native tools and domestic utensils, were replaced by mechanical and agricultural employments of civilized life. Industrialism might be agreeable to Americans and Europeans, Melville argues, but it was totally uncongenial to natives in the tropics. With the abolition of pagan worship, many harmless ancient games and sports had been forbidden. Idleness was everywhere, Melville states, and idleness is the parent of vice. His animus was even greater against white men who had infected the natives with venereal disease and had brought other evils of foreign origin. The Tahitians were doomed to extinction:

> The palm-tree shall grow,
> The coral shall spread,
> But man shall cease. (*Omoo,* 49:192)

In reading these animadversions some of Melville's contemporaries must have found it anomalous and ironic that the narrator who sat in judgment upon a reverend order of men was a professed revolter from ship's duty and a beachcomber and that his jaunty, reprobate companion was hardly less restrained in the pursuit of pleasure than other civilized visitors whose practices Melville deplored.

To the student of Melville's technique of composition it appears ironic, also, that his most important source book for *Omoo* was *Polynesian Researches,* written by the English missionary William Ellis.[101] Melville chose to belittle Ellis's attitudes, but the missionary's bountiful factual commentary on Tahiti and Eimeo he appropriated at every turn for his own uses. When Melville's memory was vague concerning spots he had visited, he found in Ellis's book details that enabled him to write about them with immediacy and particularity. When he required aid in composing long expository passages, he found Ellis a profitable guide. When his narrative line ran thin, he took suggestions from the English missionary and dramatized them into events of purported experience. In *Polynesian Researches* he saw a plenitude of native names, among them those that he gave to the three joyous maidens of Loohooloo, to the hermit dealer in contraband, and even to his host at Papetaoi. He owed Ellis a tremendous debt, one that he scarcely acknowledged. The need of spinning out his tale to a length sufficient for a two-volume book induced Melville to use other sources, especially Charles Wilkes's *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition,* Georg H. von Langsdorff's *Voyages and Travels,* and Michael Russell's *Polynesia.* It is now clear that in *Omoo* Melville went considerably beyond the bounds of simple autobiography.

Whatever Melville's actual adventures on Eimeo might have been, he found, some time in early November 1842, a fine-looking whaler at anchor in Taloo Bay, flying two warm scarlet pennants joined at their bases. The ship was the *Charles and Henry,* owned by Charles G. and Henry Coffin, and her master was Captain John Brown Coleman, Jr. In this Nantucket craft Melville made his final cruise in search of the great sperm whale.[102]

CHAPTER 18

Nantucket Whaler

> A cosier old craft never floated; and the captain was the finest man in the world. There was plenty to eat, too; and, at sea, nothing to do but sit on the windlass and sail. The only bad trait about the vessel was this: she had been launched under some baleful star; and so, was a luckless ship in the fishery. She dropped her boats into the brine often enough, and they frequently got fast to the whales; but lance and harpoon almost invariably "drew" when darted by the men of the Leviathan. But what of that? We would have all the sport of chasing the monsters, with none of the detestable work which follows their capture.
>
> —*Omoo,* Chapter 82

The customary chore of writing a cruise report to owners of the ship under his command seemed most disagreeable to Captain John B. Coleman, Jr., after his arrival at Eimeo (Moorea) in late October 1842. In all his whaling years—at least seventeen according to the record and more than ten of them as a captain—he had never made a worse voyage. During the twenty-two months since he had sailed from Nantucket in the ship *Charles and Henry,* he and his whalemen had stowed down only 350 barrels of sperm oil. He had just concluded a very protracted cruise, from February to the end of October, but despite his persistent searching for whales, the average take had been less than eighteen barrels of oil a month. Captain Coleman knew that it would be natural for the ship's owners to hold him accountable for the misfortunes of his voyage. He was not, however, willing to assume all the blame. For one thing, he recalled resentfully that the mates and boatsteerers who served under him had not been of his choosing. So far they had proved to be a negligent, incompetent lot. He resented also the necessity of going whaling according to a plan, of searching fixed areas of ocean that had been chosen for him by the ship's owners. How could they in distant Nantucket foresee the problems he would encounter? What provisions did their plan make for the situation he had faced while cruising a familiar ground: too many rival ships and the whales more suspicious of lowered boats than ever before in his experience? Captain Coleman was in a cantankerous frame of mind, therefore, when he

seated himself at his cabin desk and began a letter to Charles G. and Henry Coffin.[1]

Eimeo Nov 2 1842

Sir

I arrived here a few days ago with only 350 bls of Oil after an eight months cruise, we saw whales fourteen times the cruise on the of[f] shore ground and line and only got seven which made 140 bls, whales have been very wild that I have seen and seems almost impossible to get nigh them though I can assure you that I have not got the best whalemen in the world, my boat steerers have missed two hundred and fifty bls and then had another Hundred gone of[f] carelessly, one boat steerer that I shipt at Paita when I first got round I put ashore at Tumbus a good for nothing fellow, another Geo Jordan that came from home run away and I was not sorry he had missed several times he steered the waist boat and between the head and stern of her they drove of[f] two or three Hundred bls, I am surprised that Capt [George F.] Joy should recommend such men for Officers to you, it is a poor place round here to get good officers they should be shipt at home, we have seen whales tweny two times this voyage and they have been very wild I suppose because there have been so many ships to the Eastwd of this Island spoke and heard of fifty sail since may between the Long. of 120 and 130 W it is impossible for Whales to be tame when there is so many ships, I think if I had gone to Japan three seasons I should have done better than I shall do but according to your particular <Orders> request I did not go but I think I shall go next season, I believe if I ever come round here again I shall sail without Orders if possible I think it a poor plan, if I may be allowd to *think any thing about* it [emphasis in original], I should now go to the group but I think the chance slim, there is so many ships gone that way the fact is I do not know where the best place is these hard times, there has been many whales seen round those Islands and should I see any I think I shal stop and cruise for them, it is most likely I shall make a long voyage the ship is good and I have plenty of Provisions for four years and then I think it will be time to head towards home, the Copper has just begun to break on the ships bottom I think it has wore well for I have not been still much since I have been round here, I have discharged one boat steerer here one that I shipt at Paita and am going to ship another to morrow, and two men have run away but I believe the natives have taken them today, they do not allow men to stop here, so soon pick them up when they do run, recruits are very scarce here now, I cannot get any Potatoes or yams I think I must touch at some of Islands and get some if I can

the last ship that I spoke on the line was Murcury of N.B. 700 bls and susan NB 350 about the first of Oct, I spoke the Roscoe Sept 10th 2200 and Ocean 14th 1050 I spoke the Chas Carroll August 14th with 1600 bls on board.

> there is three men here that run from the John [Adams] that I shall have to ship but they ask great lay I do not think I can get them for better than 110 lay, the natives dont seem inclined to go from here much,
>
> John B Coleman

During the four days or so that Captain Coleman remained at Eimeo he signed on two, and perhaps all three, of the deserters from the *John Adams* of Nantucket. Joseph Whiting, Joseph Castro, and William Coulson had jumped ship on October 16 and had managed to avoid capture by their whaling master, Captain William H. Swazey, who searched for them "over and above the time prescribed by law but without success."[2] After a rough stay in the hills, however, they were willing enough to sell their services advantageously to the *Charles and Henry.*[3] The most likely candidate for the boatsteerer Captain Coleman planned to hire on November 3 was the twenty-two-year-old Herman Melville, who eight years later in writing Richard Bentley would hyperbolically lay claim to a "personal experience, of two years & more, as a harpooneer."[4]

On November 7 the *Charles and Henry* hove to outside the harbor of Papeete,[5] and Captain Coleman went ashore in search of additional mariners who might be induced to go whaling. He found at least one new hand, John Wallace, who for some time seems to have been a destitute seaman in the keep of Consul S. R. Blackler.[6] Unless Melville informed his whaling master that the potatoes he needed could be had at Eimeo from the farm of Zeke and Shorty, Captain Coleman may have paid another brief visit or so at some of the nearby islands. It was not long, however, before the courses and topsails were set and the *Charles and Henry* left the land behind her as Captain Coleman led his mariners on another determined search for sperm whales.

After leaving Eimeo Melville served approximately one fourth of his active whaling years at sea aboard a Nantucket craft. Still, the events of his last cruise for sperm whales are known only in scant detail. Some information, however, is available concerning the ship *Charles and Henry* and her owners, her captain, and her crew.

When Melville joined the whaler, she was ten years old and making her third voyage. In February 1832 John B. and Elijah Barstow of Hanover, Massachusetts, had contracted to build for Charles G. and Henry Coffin of Nantucket "a first rate ship (Equal if not better than the ship ZC [*Zenas Coffin*]) . . . to be finished off in a workman like manner . . . on some consideration of which Chs G & H Coffin agree to pay the said Barstows the sum of $38 per ton."[7] When the *Charles and Henry* was completed in the fall of 1832 she had two decks, three masts, a square stern, and a billet head. Slightly smaller than Melville's first whaler, the *Acushnet,* she had a burthen of 336 54/95 tons

and was 105 feet, 5 inches long; 26 feet, 9 inches wide; and 13 feet, 4 1/2 inches deep.[8]

Charles G. and Henry Coffin, for whom the new ship was named, were the only sons of Zenas Coffin, the most successful whaling merchant in Nantucket history. After his death in 1828 they took over management of the largest sperm oil and candle business on the island and continued the high traditions their father had established, sending good whale ships, well-provisioned and commanded by able captains, on long voyages to the Pacific Ocean. The fleet of seven whalers that Zenas Coffin had left were divided among his heirs, but the business continued as before on a family basis.[9] As old whalers were retired, Charles and Henry Coffin added new ships to the fleet. During the years that Melville was a whaleman, the *Charles and Henry* and four other Coffin ships cruised the Pacific Ocean: the new *Columbia,* Captain George F. Joy; the *Constitution,* Captain Obed Ramsdell; the *Catawba,* Captain Henry Pease II; and the *Zenas Coffin,* Captain Hiram Bailey.[10]

Under the command of Captain George F. Joy, the *Charles and Henry* had begun her maiden voyage on November 25, 1832, with a race against the *Loper,* one of Joseph Starbuck's ships.[11] At the beginning of the race his new ship disappointed Henry Coffin, who sailed aboard her as far as Madeira, the first stage on a grand tour preliminary to his marriage to Eliza Starbuck. The *Charles and Henry* was "too deep by the head," he thought, but a few days later, when she was in proper trim, she left the rival Nantucket craft far astern, proving her mettle as a sea-pacer.[12] The first voyage was as successful as the first race. When Captain Joy brought the ship home on July 7, 1836, she had under hatches 2,546 barrels of sperm oil, worth more than $71,000.[13]

Captain Joy sailed again for the Pacific Ocean in the *Charles and Henry* on December 1, 1836.[14] During this voyage his luck was not so greasy as formerly, and his mariners suffered a series of misfortunes in port and on the whaling grounds. At Tahiti seven men jumped ship. One of the deserters was supposed to have been beaten to death by the natives sent out to apprehend them; another killed a pursuing islander and was held while the chiefs consulted on what to do with him.[15] While the ship was cruising the Off-Shore Ground in September 1837 her men struck a large whale. The whale turned upon a boat and "took it in his Head to use his Jaw and make a finish of her."[16] No one was injured in this encounter, but on October 11, 1837, an infuriated leviathan stove a boat and killed Jeremiah Batchelder of Raymond, New Hampshire.[17] There was another fatal accident on October 8, 1839, in which John Jayne of Nantucket and Israel White of New York were lost and two Sandwich Islanders were seriously injured.[18] Thereafter the men of the *Charles and Henry* did not again see a whale for 118 days.[19] But in spite of these unfortunate incidents of the second voyage, Captain Joy and his men managed to capture

1,920 barrels of sperm oil before they returned to Nantucket on October 12, 1840.[20]

It appears that the Coffins originally intended to send Captain Joy once more to sea as master of the *Charles and Henry,* for he took the trouble to recommend mates and boatsteerers for the third voyage.[21] At the last minute, it seems, there was a change of plans. Charles and Henry Coffin decided to give Captain Joy a longer vacation in port and to reward him with command of their new ship, the *Columbia.* On December 8, 1840, Henry Coffin piloted the *Charles and Henry* from Nantucket to Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard,[22] where the crew was officially shipped and final provisioning of the craft completed. Eight days later Captain John B. Coleman, Jr., was sworn in as master of the ship.[23]

By the strictest Nantucket standards Captain Coleman, who was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on November 12, 1800, was considered an "off-islander." Except for the accident of birthplace, however, he had good reason to consider himself a Nantucketer. His father, the son of Seth Coleman, was born on the island, and so was his mother, Elizabeth Coffin, the daughter of Reuben and Parnell Coffin. As members of a Quaker colony that migrated from Nantucket in 1785, eight years before their marriage, his parents had gone to live in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.[24] It is not known when John B. Coleman, Jr., removed to Nantucket, but on July 18, 1825, he shipped for a whaling voyage in one of the island whalers. At that time he was, according to his Seaman's Protection Paper, twenty-four years old, 5 feet, 8 3/4 inches tall (about Melville's mature height), and dark complexioned.[25] In 1828 or 1829 he married a Nantucket girl, Susan Coffin, daughter of William B. and Deborah Coffin.[26] His home on the island still stands.

John B. Coleman, Jr., sailed as captain of the *Zenas Coffin* on June 24, 1832.[27] From a logbook of the voyage kept by Frederick H. Taylor, one of the mates,[28] several generalizations can be made concerning his character and competence as a whaling master. First of all Captain Coleman was a "fighting captain"—one who lowered and commanded the starboard boat in whale hunts. He did not give chase every time whales were raised, but his boat took six of the sixty-one whales killed during the voyage and was responsible for the stowing down of 250 barrels of sperm oil. Captain Coleman appears to have been a very sociable fellow. On almost every occasion that the *Zenas Coffin* spoke a rival whaler, the ships paused for a convivial gam. It is worth remarking that only three men deserted during the voyage, that there is no evidence of friction between officers and men, and that only two instances of grumbling appear in Mate Taylor's logbook. One reason why the *Zenas Coffin* must have been a "happy ship" this voyage was the fact that Captain Coleman followed a liberal practice of giving liberty to his men at recruiting ports. On

the whaling grounds he was not so eager to kill whales that he forgot the welfare of his crew. The following entries from the *Zenas Coffin* logbook are revealing: November 11, 1832: "got our diiners and lowred 4 boats and chased them"; July 30, 1834: "got our dinners and lowred Again." During this voyage Captain Coleman sighted more whales from the top-gallant crosstrees than any other member of the ship's company. He brought the *Zenas Coffin* home on October 21, 1835, with 1,720 barrels of sperm oil under hatches.[29]

Captain Coleman's second command was aboard the new whaler *Catawba,* another ship of Charles G. and Henry Coffin. He took her to sea on January 14, 1836.[30] Five letters from this voyage survive.[31] They yield further insights concerning the man who later became Melville's third whaling master. Captain Coleman appears in these letters to have been a vigorous, forthright mariner. In his thirty-eighth year he was still lowering his starboard boat for whales and did so once with almost fatal results: "I struck a large whale last Sunday and lost him with two lines six Irons boat and every thing belonging to her except the Crew, *hard luck, dont tell Susan.*"[32] He spoke directly of his disappointment that the *Catawba* leaked after she left port and that she was not as trim a ship as the *Zenas Coffin,* making remarks that angered the owners of the two vessels.[33] He objected to having sailed from home in January—"which I believe I shall not do again unless *I am pushd for a lively hood.*"[34] He made frank evaluations of the officers under his command: "I am afraid you have paid dear for Mr Pollard he may be a good whaleman but he is a poor everything else."[35] Of a third mate whom he had shipped from another whaler in the Pacific and believed to be a smart young man from Nantucket, he later wrote: "I have discharged . . . Mr. Haskill . . . he has been very little service to me this season and I believe I may say the most sleepy head I ever saw since I have been master, he has shipt to the Chas Drew as seaman so you may judge from that the ambition he has to get ahead."[36] During this voyage Captain Coleman was responsible for the rescue of thirty-eight men, women, and children from a burning ship, the barque *James Calvin* of London.[37] He brought the *Catawba* back to Nantucket on September 20, 1839, with a cargo of 1,698 barrels of sperm oil and 139 barrels of whale oil.[38] Whether the Coffin owners of the ship were displeased at Captain Coleman's having done a limited amount of right whaling—a practice frowned upon by Nantucketers—is not known. At any rate, it was a full fifteen months before he was given another command.

Captain Coleman made his third, last, and most unsuccessful voyage as a whaling master in the *Charles and Henry.* (In fact, of all the Nantucket ships that went to sea in 1840, his whaler made the worst voyage.) She sailed from Edgartown on December 20, 1840,[39] a few days before Melville came to Fairhaven seeking employment as a whaleman. Around Cape Horn she

went and up the coast of South American to Payta, Peru, her first Pacific Ocean recruiting port, where she arrived in early July 1841.[40] She had captured only 75 barrels of sperm oil during passage, as compared with the 350 barrels then aboard Melville's *Acushnet,* which had sailed two weeks later than the *Charles and Henry.* At the end of eleven months the Nantucket whaler was at Talcahuano, Chile, having taken 180 barrels.[41] Thirteen months out she was reported with 200 barrels onboard.[42] There was a brief run of good luck between February and the end of May 1842 when 100 barrels of sperm oil were added to the cargo,[43] but during the next six months of the voyage before the *Charles and Henry* came to Eimeo her mariners saw and killed few whales.[44]

The ship's company that Melville joined in November 1842 numbered seventeen other Americans and ten foreigners.[45] Of this group he, Joseph Whiting, Joseph Castro, John Wallace, and perhaps William Coulson were new recruits from the Society Islands. Other members included the loyal remnant of the original crew and the ten foreigners who were presumably shipped in South American ports or at some of the islands. No crew list for this voyage has been found, but it is possible to reconstruct a tentative, partially verified, roster of the original ship's company from surviving custom records.[46] This roster includes the names of twenty-five mariners.[47] Only two of the group were Nantucketers—George Baldwin, who had served with Captain Coleman aboard the *Catawba,* and David Veeder, kinsman of Nantucket whaling masters. Samuel Wheeler, from Portland, Maine, had sailed in the *Charles and Henry* during her second voyage and had witnessed her tragic whaling accidents. There were four other New Englanders listed, but most of the men hailed from the Middle Atlantic states. Twelve of them were born in Melville's home state, New York: Alexander M. Creighton at Albany; Christopher Cain at Waterford, home of Melville's first cousins Guert, Leonard, and Stanwix Gansevoort; John Sears and John Allen at Saratoga, near Lansingburgh; Charles Marshal, Henry Carmen, and George Jordan at New York City; Stephen Daniels at Flatbush; John Smith and Clinton Soper at Haverstraw; Richard Birdsell at Bedford; and Daniel Goff at the town of Ohio. Fifteen of the men were under twenty-one years of age when they signed on at Edgartown. Dissatisfied with their abilities as whalemen, Captain Coleman had discharged some of his mariners. Others had deserted. By the time Melville joined the *Charles and Henry* perhaps as many as twelve members of the original crew had left the ship.

After sailing from the Society Islands, Captain Coleman took the *Charles and Henry* with Melville aboard to the Off-Shore Ground. The ship was spoken during November in 4°20' south latitude, 121° west longitude by the *Roscoe* of New Bedford, Captain McCleve.[48] No additional whales had been killed. The *Roscoe* reported other ships in nearby waters: the *Draco,* which had

been at Tahiti when Melville was there, the *Charles Carroll* of Nantucket, and Melville's first whaler, the *Acushnet.* It would be interesting to know whether the *Charles and Henry* spoke the *Acushnet* at this time, too, and whether Melville found it necessary to lie low to avoid being returned on board the whaler he had so recently deserted at Nukahiva.

With a full cargo of sperm oil and gaily headed for her last recruiting port before sailing for home, the *Roscoe* spoke the luckless *Charles and Henry* once more on January 27, 1843.[49] At that time Melville's ship was steering to the eastward, not far from the island of Mas Afuera. Having passed so quickly from one whaling ground to another, Captain Coleman was evidently sweeping large areas of the ocean in his search for leviathans. Another change of course and a long run to the northwest brought at least slight rewards. When the *Martha 2nd* of Fairhaven, Captain Hammond, spoke the *Charles and Henry* on February 9, Melville's whaler had 400 barrels of sperm oil on board.[50] With the capture of 100 additional barrels during the next eleven weeks it seemed that the luck of the ship was taking a turn for the better. But then it was time to conclude the cruise. Captain Coleman brought the *Charles and Henry* to anchor at Lahaina, Maui, in the Sandwich Island Group on April 27, 1843. The Nantucket ship had an inward cargo of 500 barrels of sperm oil, 150 of which had been captured during Melville's tour of duty on board.[51]

The apprenticeship stage of Melville's whaling career had been served during his eighteen months in the ship *Acushnet* of Fairhaven. As a green hand he had belonged to the lowest order of whalemen on board, the gauche, unlearned ones who performed unimportant chores and suffered the derision of experienced shipmates. He had come to the whaler, it is true, with a smattering of nautical savvy acquired during his limited service aboard the merchantman *St. Lawrence* of New York in 1839. At first he was perhaps more surefooted aloft than his fellow green hands and less perplexed by outlandish sailor language, but the mysteries of whaling were as unknown to him as to them. In a whaleboat of the *Acushnet* he had pulled an oar during the first lowering, had gone back-foremost onto a whale, and had suffered the terror of the novice. He had seen a beast, tremendous beyond his imagining, thrash the sea, spout thick blood, and turn fin out. And he had toiled as never before while the massive corpse was butchered, heaved aboard in great chunks, and fried in fat sea kettles. He had participated in such tasks again and again, in fair weather and in foul, until he did so with assuredness and skill. He had experienced excitement and monotony at sea and had visited foreign coasts. Still the young man who tried hard but could never quite conceal the evidences of gentility had remained a whaling menial. In a ship whose captain grew querulous with ill health and bad luck and whose crewmen were, with

few exceptions, uncongenial and mean-spirited, he had learned the business of whaling. In time his life aboard the ship proved so galling that he deserted.

Like the new *Acushnet,* the plump little Australian barque which Melville joined at Nukahiva had held forth promises of pleasant adventure at sea but had rewarded him with a good measure of disenchantment. As an able seaman entitled to a position of some social and professional advantage in the forecastle, he may have fancied the prospects of blubber hunting under a foreign flag. But the *Lucy Ann* in sailing from Nukahiva to Tahiti had not in any real sense made a whaling cruise, probably had not once lowered her boats for a spouting whale. His shipmates had been, for the most part, of a tough and disorderly breed, riotous Sydney-men and vagrants of the islands. His ailing captain, a pontifical fellow who might have run a taut merchant ship on a placid sea lane, was no match for rebellious whalemen in pagan waters, and his chief mate was too much given to "splicing the main-brace" (drinking alcohol). It is possible that in joining the *Lucy Ann* revolters Melville acted irresponsibly and defied authority in a way not possible aboard the *Acushnet.* The evidence, however, strongly argues otherwise. On the open seas when the outcome of prospective rebellion was in doubt, he had, it seems, either remained neutral or had paid protective lipservice to the cause of the majority force. Outside port he had sought unavailingly a medical discharge. His delay in declaring allegiance to the revolters and refusing to perform further duty aboard ship suggests prudential deliberation. Whatever might have been the components of his final decision, he clearly preferred the Tahitian land—calaboose, shackles, and all—to the decks of the barque *Lucy Ann.*

In direct as well as less obvious ways it was fortunate for Melville and for the future of American letters that he did not conclude his whaling career at Tahiti. His cruise in the *Charles and Henry* was not made of the stuff that could be seized upon and transmuted directly into a *Moby-Dick* or even a complete *Mardi.* It was not sufficiently rewarding or stimulating to persuade him in May 1843 to continue as a toiler in the whale fishery. The main contribution of his six months aboard the Nantucket ship was a salutary emotional attitude: he ended his whaling years pleasantly and honorably.

During those six months he served a good whaling master. If John B. Coleman, Jr., was not the captain to bring home the most lucrative cargoes for his ship's owners, he was one who was admired and liked by the whalemen who served under him. The exasperating run of bad luck that hounded him throughout this voyage would have turned a smaller man into a bitter, tyrannical master. A clear token that he continued to rule from his quarterdeck with benevolence was the attitude of Joseph Castro, who was driven to desert the *John Adams* but who served the *Charles and Henry* to the end of this unsuccessful voyage and sailed aboard her on the next.[52] Of all the

ship's commanders who make their appearance in Melville's books, Captain Coleman was the only one for whom he had a good word to say. He was the original of Melville's master of the *Leviathan* in *Omoo*—"a sailor, and no tyrant" (82:312)—and of the captain of the *Arcturion* in *Mardi*—a skipper who "himself was a trump; stood upon no quarter-deck dignity; and had a tongue for a sailor" (1:5). He may have sat, too, for the portrait of the compassionate commander in "Sketch Eighth" of "The Encantadas." Melville's shipmates in the *Charles and Henry* included young men of his age and from his "neck of the woods" with whom he could talk nostalgically about Albany, Waterford, and other places near home. Among the ten foreigners in the crew were those who could have given further insights into the character of Polynesian whalemen to the writer who later created the character of Queequeg.

If, as he declared to his publisher Richard Bentley, Melville served as a harpooner in the whale fishery, he must have done so while sailing in the *Charles and Henry.* Holding the rank of boatsteerer he would have been a petty officer of the ship, entitled to fairly exclusive if crowded quarters in the steerage with other harpooners and specialists of the craft. He would have pulled the forward-most oar in a whaleboat on those occasions between the end of January and the end of April 1843 when the lookouts sighted whales. Going on to a leviathan he would have heard the mate of his boat shout, "Stand up!" He would have peaked his oar, braced a leg against the clumsy cleat, and darted his irons into the whale. Hastily swapping places with the mate, he would have steered with a long oar in the concluding round of the fight in which the whale was lanced to death. When dead whales were brought alongside the *Charles and Henry,* he would have, according to his turn, gone over the side in stocking feet and, standing atop a gigantic corpse, secured the great blubber hook so that the process of cutting in could commence. As a boatsteerer of the *Charles and Henry* he would have learned the business of whaling in a way he never could have as a green hand of the *Acushnet* or as able seaman of the *Lucy Ann.*

At mealtime he would have eaten at Captain Coleman's table after the senior officers of the *Charles and Henry* had dined.[53] Whatever he may have thought of the food aboard his first two whalers, he could not have complained much of that served him in the *Charles and Henry.* The Coffins, who owned the ship, saw to it that their whalers always carried prime beef and as good provisions as ever were placed in the hold of a Nantucket craft.[54]

During his leisure hours he may have found at least limited opportunity to indulge his passion for reading. The ship seems to have carried a small library, which contained the Bible, a group of inspirational volumes, navigational charts, Captain David Porter's *Journal,* and *The History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark.*[55]

Melville's connection with the *Charles and Henry* is pleasantly reflected in the closing pages of *Omoo* and the opening sections of *Mardi.* Since the facts of his final cruise still remain obscure, their impact upon the composition of *Moby-Dick* is less apparent. Even so, the man who did not visit the island of Nantucket, "away off shore" (*Moby-Dick,* 14:63), until 1852, a decade after he went whaling, could never have written so confidently and so affectionately of a Nantucket ship, of Nantucket whalemen, and of Nantucket lore had he not served for six months on the *Charles and Henry.*

CHAPTER 19

Lahaina and Honolulu

A winding glass around we'll pass—
We're finished with our whaling.
—from a variant of "Blow, Ye Winds," whaling song[1]

It was the height of the spring recruiting season at Lahaina when Melville's ship arrived. Fourteen whalers lay in the roadstead on April 27, and another cast anchor during the day. The *Midas* of New Bedford, now on a new voyage under a new master and making ready to sail, the *William Lee* of Newport, and the *Mary* of Edgartown were all familiar ships to Melville, who had seen them during his voyage in the *Acushnet*. Three crafts from Captain Coleman's Nantucket were there too—the *Young Hero,* the *Harvest,* and the *Walter Scott*. Other whalers in port were two barques named *Pantheon,* one from Fall River and one from New Bedford, the *Newark* of Stonington, and a group of New Bedford blubber-hunters, the *Liverpool,* the *Nimrod,* the *New Bedford,* the *Callao,* and the *Kutusoff*. Before sunset the *Julian* of New Bedford put in and on the following day the *Condor* from the same port came to anchor. Melville had probably never before seen so many whaleships at one time. During his three-week stay at Lahaina, thirty-two vessels of the fishery visited the roadstead, and approximately eight hundred whaling men had shore leave in the town.[2]

Coopering the oil, repairing ship, and bringing provisions on board kept the men of the *Charles and Henry* busy for the first few days in port. After the work slacked off, Captain Coleman paid a visit on May 2, 1843, to John B. Stetson, the United States vice–commercial agent on the island. He took with him John Wallace, Joseph Whiting, and Herman Melville. Wallace, who had become ill during the cruise, was discharged as a destitute seaman with the usual three-months' wages put up for his keep.[3] Melville and Whiting were discharged too and paid their share in the oil taken during the previous six months.[4] They had apparently shipped for the cruise only, and their agreements with the ship were ended. What Melville's reasons were for stopping at the Sandwich Islands we can only guess. Perhaps he saw no further economic gain in working for a ship so beset with hard luck. He may have had visions of high adventure such as he had experienced at Nukahiva, Tahiti, and Eimeo.

Or Captain Coleman may have chosen not to renew his contract. Whatever Melville's plans might have been, he did not at the time wish to continue a career in the fishery, for he could have secured a berth aboard one of the several whale ships in port. As things turned out, with his discharge from the *Charles and Henry* Melville ended once and for all his years as a whaleman.

"More order reigns here than in any other town of the same size I have seen in Polynesia," Lieutenant Charles Wilkes wrote of Lahaina after a visit in 1841.[5] In recent years Lahaina had gained ascendancy over Honolulu as a favorite port of call for whaling captains visiting the Sandwich Islands, and for good reason.[6] There were no heavy anchorage charges or towing fees, provisions were plentiful, and the prevailing blue laws and absence of grog shops militated against riotous conduct by sailors on shore leave.[7] The Reverend Samuel C. Damon, a missionary from Honolulu who spent two Sundays at Lahaina when Melville was there, found the conduct of visiting whalemen most gratifying.[8] The whaling fleet was in and perforce on good behavior.

With a limited amount of money in his pockets, Melville was now his own man, free to wander at will about the town. There was not a great deal to see or do. The grass houses in which lived some three thousand inhabitants of Lahaina were mostly on one main street stretching along the beach for a distance of about three quarters of a mile.[9] Principal objects for the sightseer were the half-finished coral palace of the king, the quadrangular fort where errant seamen were imprisoned, and two places of worship, the native church and the small seamen's bethel. On the side of a mountain that rose 6,130 feet behind the town one could see the missionary seminary of Lahainaluna two miles away, where native sons of Maui were educated to become teachers in the local schools. If, as he asserts in *Typee,* Melville paid a visit to the seminary, he could have found additional evidence in favor of his anti-missionary bias.[10] Lieutenant Wilkes, who had been at Lahainaluna two years before, observed that the school was in decay, the discipline loose, and the scholars a most "ragged, dirty-looking set of fellows."[11] He concluded that the program was "wholly impracticable, and unsuitable to the wants of the natives."[12]

His provisioning of the ship completed and three American whalemen signed on in the room of those he had discharged, Captain Coleman took the *Charles and Henry* to sea on May 10, 1843.[13] He stopped two days at Honolulu,[14] then crowded all sail for waters off the coast of Japan,[15] hoping on that whaling ground to change the luck of his ill-fated voyage.

Whalers had continued to arrive at and sail from the Lahaina roadstead.[16] Before the departure of the *Charles and Henry,* the *Wade* of New Bedford had made port on May 2; the *Clifford Wayne* of Fairhaven on May 4; the *Three Brothers* of Nantucket on May 5; the *Adeline Gibbs* of Fairhaven, the *Mon-*

tano of Nantucket, and the *Triton* of New Bedford on May 6; the *Benjamin Rush* of Warren, Rhode Island, and the *Vineyard* of Edgartown on May 8; the *Foster* of Nantucket on May 9; and the *Hero* of Nantucket on May 10. During Melville's remaining days in the town six other whalers arrived: the *Audley Clark* of Newport and the *America* of Stonington on May 11, the *Obed Mitchell* of Nantucket on May 12, the barque *Damon* of Newport on May 13, the *Montpelier* of New Bedford on May 15, and the barque *Russell* of New Bedford on May 18.

With so many mariners taking liberty in the town, Melville had a good chance to hear the scuttlebutt of the whale fishery. Except for horseback riding and surfboarding there was little to do besides enjoying idleness and swapping gossip, including news from home and tales of adventure at sea. Word of the whaling market at home was depressing. When the barque *Damon* had sailed in October 1842 sperm oil was bringing only 68 cents a gallon, a drop of 37 cents in value since the month of Melville's departure from Fairhaven.[17]

It did not take Melville long to discover that the opportunities for employment and the resources for recreation were equally limited at Lahaina. If there were openings, one might work alongside native laborers on the highland farms of Maui or with them in a sugar cane mill run by a Chinese man on the other side of the island. In general, the local authorities discouraged footloose sailors from settling at Lahaina. When it was learned that a schooner from Honolulu was coming to pick up destitute seamen in the care of John Stetson, Melville, his recent shipmate Joseph Whiting, and Francis Sarsfield, just discharged from the barque *Damon,* all applied for a passage to Oahu. The *Star,* commanded by Captain Burroughs, arrived on May 18, took on board twenty whalemen including Melville, and set sail for Honolulu.

Among the destitute seamen who were his fellow passengers, three mariners could have told exciting whaling stories to Melville. Milton Brown and Joseph Pianna, discharged from the ship *Nantucket,* had seen their second mate, Peter F. Swain, taken out of a whaleboat by a foul line and drowned,[18] as is Captain Ahab of *Moby-Dick.* William Ray had had experiences that almost qualified him as a model for the protagonist of *Typee.* Sailing as a harpooner of the ship *Edward* of Hudson, New York, he had come in July 1842 to Nukahiva at the very time that Melville was there. When he went ashore in a whaleboat, natives seized him and would not permit him to return to his ship. The *Edward* departed, apparently leaving him to a horrid fate. But the ship *Erie* of Fairhaven came to his rescue. Finding Ray nearly dead, Captain Wilmot Luce took him aboard and saw that he was cared for until the *Erie* brought him to Lahaina.[19]

Arriving at Oahu, Melville found the Union Jack flying over the Ho-

nolulu fort. It had been hoisted there on February 25, 1843, when, in another phase of contemporary imperialism in the Pacific, the Sandwich Islands had been provisionally ceded to Great Britain.[20]

Jealous of the prestige of American influence in the local government, chafing at the treatment of Englishmen, and fearful that France might seize the islands, Richard Charlton, the British consul, had secretly sailed for London in September 1842 to report directly to the Foreign Office.[21] En route he had aired his grievances at Valparaiso to Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, who forthwith sent Lord George Paulet to Honolulu in H.B.M. ship *Carysfort*.[22] Paulet reached Honolulu on February 11, 1843. Six days later, having listened to the complaints of Acting Consul Alexander Simpson, he presented written demands to King Kamehameha and trained his guns on the town, threatening attack in the event of non-compliance. On the advice of Dr. Gerrit Judd, a former American missionary surgeon who had become his most influential deputy, the harassed monarch yielded eight days later, signed a provisional cession of the islands to Queen Victoria, and then left the island.[23] A commission of Paulet, two other Englishmen, and Dr. Judd, acting for Kamehameha, assumed control of the government at Honolulu. On May 11, Dr. Judd resigned, protesting for the king that the commissioners had violated the compact of the treaty "by forbidding the imprisonment of persons found guilty of fornication except in certain cases not specified in the laws."[24] The town was full of excitement and torn with dissension. Melville was later to assert a strong preference for the Paulet regime, but for the moment he was more concerned with the problem of employment than with events of international significance. He may have found a temporary job setting up pins in a bowling alley, as one resident of Honolulu later reported.[25] It was not long, however, before he established a more reputable connection. Isaac Montgomery, an enterprising young British auctioneer who was soon to open a new store, signed an indenture with Melville on June 1, promising to pay his prospective American clerk and bookkeeper an annual salary of $150, payable quarterly, plus board, lodging, and washing.[26] The agreement was to take effect on July 1, but Montgomery, engaged to auction items in the estate of F. J. Greenway by order of the British commissioners, delayed the opening of his dry goods establishment until July 13.[27] Whether Melville remained unemployed for the intervening six weeks after he signed the indenture or assisted his English employer at auctions is uncertain.

Not many ships came to Honolulu during Melville's stay in the town, but most of those that did either brought dramatic news or exerted a momentous influence upon the turn of local affairs. Eight days after Melville reached Honolulu, the ship *Nassau* of New Bedford, Captain Hiram Weeks, was towed into the harbor.[28] Aboard the whaler were Luther Fox, a seaman

who had killed his first mate with a blubber knife, and a group of whalemen who, in serving the *Parker* of New Bedford, had lost first their captain in a whaling accident and later their first officer and several shipmates when the *Parker* had been destroyed on Ocean Island.

If Melville's eyes turned toward the harbor on June 6, he must have been shocked to see, lying off and on the outer reef, the *Acushnet* of Fairhaven, which he had deserted almost eleven months before. Captain Valentine Pease, Jr., had come to Honolulu in the hopes of finding new whalemen for his ship. At Lahaina, where the craft had anchored from May 29 to June 5, Captain Pease had discharged his carpenter-boatsteerer, Alexander Barron, and foremast hands Thomas Johnson and Henry Harmer had deserted.[29] In making an official accounting of their departure from the ship, Captain Pease filed with John Stetson on June 2, 1843, a comprehensive affidavit, one which took notice also of the desertion of Herman Melville and Richard T. Greene at Nukahiva.[30]

Melville probably found it necessary to make himself scarce during the two days that his former captain did business with William Hooper, the United States vice–commercial agent. Had he chanced to see any of his former shipmates among the group that rowed Captain Pease ashore, he could have heard news of bad luck in the fishery and of dissension aboard ship. The men of the *Acushnet,* now with a meagre 870 barrels of sperm oil under hatches,[31] had seen whales only fourteen times since Melville deserted.[32] After leaving Nukahiva, the ship had cruised briefly to the north, then returned to the Marquesas Islands in September 1842 with Captain Pease so sick that he had to be carried ashore.[33] John Wright had deserted before the whaler again sailed, and boatsteerer Martin Brown had jumped ship when she touched at Roa-Pua (Ua Pou).[34] Only one whale had been raised from the mastheads during the next cruise, in which the *Acushnet* sailed eastward along the Line and via the Galápagos Islands to the coast of South America.[35] When the craft arrived at Payta on December 13, 1842, Captain Pease was again in such ill health as to require treatment on shore.[36] Events of the cruise had touched off so much friction in the ship's administration that Captain Pease had discharged First Officer Frederick Raymond and George Galvan, his third mate, at Payta.[37] Making her third cruise since Melville's desertion, the *Acushnet* had left Payta on January 22, 1843. She had returned once more to the Galápagos Islands, had searched westward along the Line nearly to the meridian of Nukahiva, then turning north had worked her way to the landfall at Lahaina.[38]

Of the ship's company with which Melville had sailed from Fairhaven, only fifteen members were now serving the *Acushnet.*[39] One of the new whalemen in the crew was Henry Burke, born in England, an ordinary seaman who had been hired on January 21, 1843, at Payta.[40] Could he have been, by

another strange coincidence, the same Henry Burke who had been Melville's companion in revolt from duty aboard the *Lucy Ann?* If so, he seems to have preferred serving the *Acushnet,* for after shipping for one cruise only, he continued to renew his contracts with Captain Pease until September 1844 when he deserted at San Francisco.[41]

At Honolulu on June 6 Captain Pease engaged the services of a boatsteerer, a steward, and an ordinary seaman, and then prepared to get underway.[42] For some reason the new boatsteerer, William Ray (he of the nearly fatal Nukahivan experiences who had come to Honolulu with Melville in the schooner *Star*), decided to shirk his agreement with the *Acushnet.*[43] It was not until the following day, therefore, that Captain Pease, after signing on a replacement boatsteerer, sailed for the whaling grounds. The *Acushnet*'s course was shaped for the icy Sea of Alaska, where Captain Pease, having despaired of finding sperm whales, hoped to fill his casks with the black oil of sluggish right whales.[44]

When the *Acushnet* departed Melville must have sighed with relief that he had avoided apprehension and return to oppressive duty. Grim tales brought by two whalers that arrived later at Honolulu were of a sort to make him breathe added thanks that he had escaped a more dreadful fate in the fishery. On July 17 the ship *Candace* of New London made port only a few weeks after her second mate, William Lacky, had been killed by a whale.[45] And on August 5 the barque *Elizabeth* of Freetown, Massachusetts, another whaler in mourning, arrived in the harbor. She had recently lost her master, Captain Winslow, and four men in a disastrous encounter with leviathans.[46]

Meanwhile, excitement over international issues was intensified by the arrival of other craft at Honolulu. Much to the joy of most American residents, a United States frigate, the *Constellation,* Commodore Lawrence Kearney, made port on July 7.[47] Coming from the Asiatic Station and homeward-bound, the American man-of-war appeared opportunely during the temporary absence of the *Carysfort* and Lord George Paulet. The British Commander returned to Honolulu on July 13. Two days later he was greeted with an eleven-gun salute and then informed that the United States was displeased with his recent actions and would hold him accountable for any mistreatment of American citizens.[48] While these rival commanders were conforming to the amenities of naval protocol and then swapping stern diplomatic words, Melville was busily occupied. Isaac Montgomery's new store opened with a sale on July 13 that attracted many purchasers who bought at cut-rate prices yard after yard of calico measured off by the young American clerk.[49]

Cheered at the news of the *Constellation*'s arrival, King Kamehameha returned to Honolulu on July 25 as a passenger aboard the whaleship *Bartholomew Gosnold* of Falmouth, Massachusetts.[50] Tension was high on July

26 when H.B.M. ship *Dublin,* Rear Admiral Richard Thomas commanding, unexpectedly entered the harbor.[51] Learning of the behavior of his subaltern, Admiral Thomas had sailed from Valparaiso with the intention of restoring the Sandwich Islands to Kamehameha. Four days after his arrival the Union Jack was hauled down from Fort Adams and colors of the native king were hoisted while 21-gun salutes echoed from the harbor.[52] There followed what Melville described as a ten-day "Polynesian saturnalia," a period of "riotous rejoicing" and "universal broad-day debauchery" (*Typee,* Appendix, 257–58).

The former American whaleman who was employed at Honolulu by an Englishman in 1843 later presented, in the appendix to the first edition of *Typee,* a vigorous defense of the "spirited and high-minded Paulet." He spoke with contempt of "the imbecile King," of "Dr. Judd, a sanctimonious apothecary-adventurer," and of "designing Methodist elders in the councils of a half-civilized king, ruling with absolute sway over a nation just poised between barbarism and civilization, and exposed by the peculiarities of its relations with foreign states to unusual difficulties" (Appendix, 254–58). Melville's virulent attack may have been written with the aim of enlisting the sympathies of English readers of *Typee,* but it probably had its origin in a friendly association with Isaac Montgomery.

While the celebration on Oahu continued and Kamehameha prepared for a great feast, the *United States,* flagship of the American Pacific Squadron, arrived on August 3.[53] Two weeks later Melville went aboard this frigate and signed on for three years or the cruise.[54] It has been suggested that fear of being seized as a deserter from the *Acushnet* drove him to enlist as an ordinary seaman in the warship that carried the broad blue pennant of Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones.[55] But the *Acushnet* was 1,040 miles north of Honolulu on August 17, soon to turn westward in prolonged search for right whales,[56] and the commercial agency at Lahaina, where Melville had been reported as a deserter, had recently been closed.[57] It is more likely that a longing for Lansingburgh and his family urged Melville, after little more than a month of clerking, to break his contract with Isaac Montgomery and submit to the stern discipline of a man-of-war that was homeward-bound.

CHAPTER 20

Mutiny, Mayhem, and the Town-Ho

> So help me Heaven, and on my honor, the story I have told ye, gentlemen, is in substance and its great items, true. I know it to be true; it happened on this ball; I trod the ship; I knew the crew; I have seen and talked with Steelkilt since the death of Radney.
>
> —*Moby-Dick,* Chapter 54

Herman Melville's whaling career ended May 2, 1843, when he was discharged from the *Charles and Henry* at Lahaina. He had no further personal experiences on the decks of blubber hunters or in their cedar whaleboats. There were opportunities, however, to learn more of the violence and drama of whaling voyages in stories he could have heard from the whalemen whose ships were anchored in the Lahaina roadstead while he roamed the island of Maui or from those who stopped at Oahu while he was a resident of Honolulu. Some of these stories were still in his mind when he was writing *Moby-Dick.* The reader of that novel will easily recognize how suggestive of Chapter 54, "The Town-Ho's Story," are the three episodes that follow.

I

One was the tale of the whaleship *Mercury* of Stonington, Captain Sluman L. Gray, which had left Tahiti February 18, 1843. One of the first orders given was to seize into the rigging seaman George Washington, who had attempted to desert at Tahiti but had been apprehended; he was to be flogged as an example to the crew.

While the lash was being administered, Joseph Smith, one of the ship's foremast hands, walked on to the quarter-deck and said menacingly to Captain Gray, "The man ha[s] been flogged enough."

Angered at the common seaman's impertinence, the captain ordered Smith forward. When Smith reached the forecastle, he turned to the master of the *Mercury* and, in the hearing of officers and crew, told him that no man should again be flogged on board the vessel. He had the support of the ship's company, he said, and he would be the death of any officer who attempted

to lay hands on him—he had murdered one mate before, he declared, and would kill again if anyone tried to correct him.

There the matter rested, and there was no more flogging. On March 21, when the *Mercury* was nearing the island of Maui, Captain Gray called Smith into his cabin and asked him what he thought of his past conduct. Smith admitted that he had behaved rashly and that he had been in a passion at the time Washington had been flogged. But as the talk went on, Smith again became angry and insolent. When he called Captain Gray "a damned liar," the latter caught up a bayonet. Smith retreated to the upper deck, with Captain Gray following and ordering him forward.

A written affidavit reveals that, upon reaching the forecastle, Smith called out: "Captain Gray there you are on the starboard side of the quarter deck + I am on the forecastle—*I tell you now that the sailors shall do their duty,* I will see that they do + *I will* see that *you do yours* + I will see—that no man is punished on board this ship again—if any of the men do wrong, you shall keep them on bread + Water, according to the—Marine Law."

On the following day when the *Mercury* cast anchor at Lahaina Roads, Smith was ordered to get into one of the boats that were to go ashore. He refused to do so until Captain Gray agreed to let men of Smith's own choosing get into the boat with him.

That day the master of the *Mercury,* his third mate, two boatsteerers, the cooper, and two seamen appeared before John Stetson, United States vice–commercial agent at Lahaina. Captain Gray said that his life was not safe nor was it consistent with the interest of the voyage for Smith to remain on board the *Mercury.* He accused Smith of using mutinous language and threatening a captain and his officers. Third Mate Henry S. Comstock witnessed his affidavit, and members of the crew took oaths in substantiation of his statements.[1]

Stetson was new at the business of being a vice–commercial agent and had never before had a case like this one.[2] He decided in favor of Captain Gray and had Smith imprisoned in the fort at Lahaina. The next day Stetson addressed a letter to William Hooper, vice–commercial agent at Honolulu, recounting the incident and asking for instructions.[3]

Hooper wrote that he could not discover "that any serious act is alleged to have been actually committed by the mutinous seaman" and that he felt it was hazardous for Captain Gray to discharge Smith as a mutineer.[4] If he did this, Hooper wrote, it would be necessary to discharge also two seamen as witnesses and send them with Smith to the United States for trial. And if Smith should not be found guilty, "the expenses would fall heavy on Capt Gray—very few Ship masters are disposed to run this risk unless the offence is

of a very grave nature."[5] Hooper suggested that Captain Gray get rid of Smith as "a troublesome fellow,"[6] and in doing so act on the safe side, discharging him according to law, paying all wages due him and depositing three-months' advance wages at the agency.

John Stetson was learning his duties the hard way. The *Mercury* was already at sea, having sailed on March 24,[7] and Joseph Smith was still imprisoned in the fort.

Available records do not tell what happened to Smith. He was not listed as being in the group of five seamen who were sent by the schooner *Star* to Honolulu shortly after May 3. Nor was he among the discharged whalemen who accompanied Melville some fifteen days later.

Perhaps Joseph Smith was still at Lahaina in late April and early May 1843 during the period of twenty or so days that Melville spent there. At any rate, the story of Smith's impertinence and daring is one that Melville might well have heard, for it was of a sort to be told frequently by whalemen in port.

2

One day in late October 1842 Isaac Collier, carpenter of the ship *Vineyard* of Edgartown, then in the second year of a whaling voyage, noticed that Benjamin Brown, a seaman, was making a "slung shot" out of a whale's tooth as long as a man's finger and grafting it with twine. James Harvey, Brown's shipmate, heard him say that he was fashioning the weapon for possible use should he desert from the whaler. A few days later Brown was seen making another slung shot, this time using a piece of lead.

About ten days afterward Benjamin Brown and John Thompson began fighting at the wheel of the *Vineyard.* The first mate intervened and struck Brown, who immediately hit back. Captain Silas R. Crocker, upon hearing the row, came quickly on deck. He ordered Brown and Thompson to be tied together and gave them a "cat" each "to whip one another and have it out."[8]

Afterwards, when some of the men had gone below decks, Daniel Blackett and George Walker angrily remarked that they were sorry they "hadn't jumped into the mate." Soon resentful members of the crew were developing a plan of revenge.

During the day seamen who lived in the forecastle sought to enlist the aid of crew members who berthed in other parts of the ship. Daniel Blackett approached Isaac Collier, the carpenter, asking whether he intended to visit the forecastle that night.

"What for?"

"We're going to have a cattle show."

"What are you going to do?"

"We're going to have a fight among ourselves," Blackett said. "Timothy Sargeant is going to start, and if the captain or any of his officers comes down we'll drive 'em out of it, and if he presents a pistol at me, I'll run a lance through him."

When he went aloft to relieve Sargeant, James Walsh heard about the plan "to have a sham fight and . . . kick the officers out of the forecastle." Sargeant told Walsh that he, Ichabod Davis, George Walker, and Daniel Blackett were the ringleaders.

James Harvey, who bunked in the steerage, was visited by a Portuguese seaman and asked to participate in the plot. When Harvey came on deck, he found Sargeant, Blackett, Walker, and the Portuguese sailor, Domingo, sitting together forward of the mainmast. He joined them and learned the details of their plan.

In the forecastle Domingo, who was with several other seamen, asked Levi Lee, the regular cook who was lying sick in his bunk, what would be the consequences of the plot.

"I told them," Lee later testified, "they'd either be tried for their neck, or put in prison—and tried to suade em from it—Sargeant told em they couldn't do nothing with em for it and coaxed em into it."

Daniel Blackett prepared openly for the "cattle show." From the masthead Second Mate Edward Osborn saw him "cut off a length from a stick of wood about the size of a small heaver, go round the galley, show it to Sargeant, and then commence whittling on one end of it apparently making a handle." Other seamen took pieces of wood into the forecastle, shaped them into clubs, and hid them in their bunks.

Shortly after sundown the men were ready. Lee pleaded with them not to start anything until Third Mate Ansel Fuller could dress his blisters. They said they would wait five minutes. Mr. Fuller came into the forecastle, examined Lee, and applied new bandages.

As soon as the third mate had returned to the main deck, Benjamin Brown stood up and began swinging his slung shot menacingly about his wrist.

Then someone shouted, "You stole my molasses." The men started yelling, striking against the bunk boards, and pushing one another about.

"Get off a me, let alone a me."

"Give it to him."

"Don't kill me!"

Mr. Fuller ran forward and sang out twice to the men to stop the noise.

When they ignored him, he became riled and made for the scuttle. He had taken three steps down the forecastle gangway when someone caught him by the shoulder.

"No go down there a kill you."

The third mate drew back quickly to the safety of the deck. Looking down into the forecastle, he saw a Portuguese man named Bill hopping about and striking his fist against his hand. Mr. Fuller then went aft to report the disturbance to Captain Crocker and to make ready his arms.

All lights in the forecastle were put out except that in Lee's bunk.

Captain Crocker went forward with his second mate.

"What's the matter, men?"

In reply there was only a derisive hoot, something that sounded like "Wow, wow, wow!"

Down into the darkened forecastle went Captain Crocker, followed by Second Mate Osborn.[9] The master of the *Vineyard* was immediately surrounded by a group of the men. Daniel Blackett and then George Walker struck him. They hauled him about and threw him down on a chest, making jeering remarks when he ordered them to quit.

Second Mate Edward Osborn, who jumped into the group around Captain Crocker, was hit by Blackett. Then Benjamin Brown struck the second mate a violent blow with a weapon. (Some of the witnesses later said that it was a club; Lee insisted that it was a slung shot.) Mr. Osborn fell unconscious to the forecastle deck.

The men were apparently satisfied with their revenge. They let Captain Crocker escape to the upper deck.

"When I came to," Mr. Osborn later testified, "I found Brown clinched to me, hauling me to get me off the chest—I kicked him away from me—I afterwards got on deck as quick as I could with the loss of part of my shirt and one leg of my trowsers." There was blood on his face, and his head was split open.

When Captain Crocker ordered the men on deck, they mocked him. Then he called them by name. Some of the group came up; the others defied him, insisting that they would stay below until the *Vineyard* made port. Captain Crocker said he would give them until morning to think it over. He barred down the scuttle.

Every day thereafter he came to the forecastle hatch and ordered the men to come up and go in irons. Again and again they refused him. Testimony differs as to the length of their endurance. Several of the depositions of witnesses suggest that the ringleaders remained below until the *Vineyard* reached Tahiti. One of the witnesses, however, said that the Friday after the "cattle show" the rebellious mariners came up and were locked in irons.

Melville was already at sea in the *Charles and Henry,* which he had joined in early November, when the *Vineyard* anchored on November 12 at Papeete.[10] He was not nearby to hear of the trial of the mutineers before Consul S. R. Blackler. There was, however, opportunity later for him to learn from eyewitnesses this story of violence aboard an Edgartown whaler. During eight of the days Melville spent at Lahaina in May 1843 the *Vineyard* lay at anchor in the roadstead.[11]

3

The whaleship *Nassau* of New Bedford, Captain Hiram Weeks, cruised on April 11, 1843, not far from 30° south latitude and 117° west longitude. Captain Weeks was on deck when Charles G. Cleavland, second mate of the ship, gave orders to loose the main topgallant sail. Luther Fox, a foremast hand, climbed aloft of his own accord, and while he was carrying out the command, Mr. Cleavland told him "to light the foot rope of the sail over the stay."[12]

"Damn the foot rope to Hell," Fox called out in a loud voice.

"Stop that swearing aloft," Captain Weeks shouted.

When Fox came down on deck, Captain Weeks reprimanded him severely. Fox made no reply. The master of the *Nassau* then ordered his first mate, Jepitha Jenney, to punish Fox by making him scrape down the topmasts and topgallant masts.

Next morning Fox was ordered to tar the bobstay and the rigging about the bowsprit. He commenced work early in the day but stopped to go below when his watch was called to breakfast.

Some time later Mr. Jenney went to the top of the forecastle gangway and called out, "Fox, turn to."

"I shall not come up till after dining," Fox replied. "It is my watch below." He added that he would sooner die than come up.

Mr. Jenney went to Captain Weeks, who was in the fore topgallant crosstrees on the lookout for whales, and reported Fox's failure to obey his order. The time was about eight o'clock.

"Fox has not got command of the Ship quite yet," Captain Weeks said. "We'll get him out of the forecastle at Some rate."

Mr. Jenney returned to the scuttle and repeated his order, but again Fox insisted upon what he deemed his rights.

"It is my watch below, and I will not come up alive unless the whole watch comes up."

Mr. Jenney started down the forecastle gangway just as Frank Joseph, a seaman, was climbing to the upper deck with his tin pan and pipe. Joseph jumped quickly aside.

Then there was a scream. It rang out over the ship.

Joseph turned around at once and saw Fox sitting on his sea chest, his mincing knife in his hand. There was blood on the knife.

The third mate and several of the crew ran forward upon hearing the cry and found Mr. Jenney holding to the coaming of the gangway, crying, and trying vainly to throw himself out of the forecastle.

They lifted Mr. Jenney to the deck and placed him on the larboard side of the scuttle. His right leg appeared to be nearly shorn from his body. Bones from the part of the leg attached to the body were protruding. They pushed together the severed parts of the leg.

Captain Weeks hurried down from his lookout post and asked the first mate what had happened.

"Fox has cut my leg off with a mincing Knife."

Mr. Jenney was carried aft, and since there were no surgeons aboard American whaleships,[13] Captain Weeks examined the wound. He found that the blow had been struck with such force that the leg bone had been completely cut through, and the leg was hanging by a small piece of flesh on the inner part of the thigh. He applied a tourniquet, stopped the flow of blood from two or three of the main arteries, cut off the leg, and took up the remaining arteries. Mr. Jenney was placed on a bed in the cabin and rendered as comfortable as possible.

About a half-hour later, Captain Weeks ordered James Hackett, the cooper, to go forward and see Fox. Hackett found him in the forecastle, still sitting on his chest with a mincing knife across his legs. When the cooper asked him if he knew what he had done, Fox replied that he could not help it, and burst into tears. He said that he had warned Mr. Jenney not to come into the forecastle.

Hackett asked for the mincing knife but Fox refused to give it up.

"If they come after me I shall defend myself and sell my life as dear as I can," he said.

Hackett, insisting that no one would attempt to force him on deck, attempted to persuade Fox to give himself up. After a while Fox handed his mincing knife to the cooper. Later that day when Mr. Cleavland ordered Fox to go aft, he left the forecastle without hesitation and was put in irons.

At three o'clock Jepitha Jenney died. On the following noon orders were given to bury the dead, and the body was cast into the ocean.

The *Nassau* came to anchor at Honolulu May 26, 1843.[14] By order of William Hooper, United States vice–commercial agent, Luther Fox was imprisoned in the fort, and two witnesses, Joseph Dutra and Manuel Deauvilla, were left at the agency.

Three days after his ship made port, Captain Weeks, his third mate,

two boatsteerers, the cooper, and two seamen appeared before Hooper and gave sworn testimony that Luther Fox had killed Jepitha Jenney.[15] Samuel H. Goodhue, seaman, produced the fatal mincing knife, marked "J. Durfee, cast steel," pointed to gaps in the weapon, and told of the blood he had seen upon it. He declared, "The business of mincing blubber had been alloted to Fox during the voyage and it was his Custom to Keep the Knife in his possession—it was also usual for him to grind the Knives always after cutting in a whale."

Luther Fox remained imprisoned in the Honolulu fort until July 22, when he and the two witnesses, the mincing knife, and the depositions of the men of the *Nassau* were delivered aboard the United States frigate *Constellation,* Commodore Lawrence Kearney commanding.[16]

Less than two months later, while the *Constellation* was lying off the port of Monterey, California, Fox escaped. Since being placed aboard the frigate, he had been confined under the charge of a marine sentry. Fox was in his hammock on the evening of September 16, and a half-hour later he was heard speaking to another prisoner. Soon after nine o'clock, however, he was discovered to have left his hammock. Search was made for him in all parts of the ship without success. In reporting Fox's escape to Commodore Kearney, Lieutenant Henry Pinkney expressed the opinion that the prisoner had passed through one of the ports of the frigate and had swum towards shore.[17] He felt that Fox must have drowned, because the distance from shore was considerable and the water very cold.

Through the governor of Monterey, Commodore Kearney offered a reward of $100 if Fox were returned to the *Constellation* or $50 if returned to any other American ship of war.[18] But Luther Fox was apparently never captured. The mincing knife and the testimony concerning the death of Jepitha Jenney were returned from the United States in 1844 to William Hooper in Honolulu.[19]

Melville must have heard this story. Only a few days after he came to Honolulu, the *Nassau* entered the harbor, and of the five American whalers that were in port during the period of Melville's stay in the town, she arrived under the most dramatic circumstances.

Jepitha Jenney's murder was recounted in a Honolulu newspaper under the headline "Bloody Affray at Sea," and Fox was described as a "native of Renselaerville, Albany Co, N.Y."[20] To Melville the fate of a whaleman whose home was so near Lansingburgh would have been a matter of special interest. From his place of employment as clerk to Isaac Montgomery it was no great distance to the Honolulu fort, and there, during one of the some fifty-eight days of Fox's imprisonment, Melville could have gone to hear from the lips of Fox himself the story of murder aboard the *Nassau.* In *Typee* Melville writes

familiarly of conditions at the Honolulu fort,[21] and in *Omoo* he remarks significantly, "No sailor steps ashore, but he straightway goes to the 'Calabooza,' where he is almost sure to find some poor fellow or other in confinement for desertion, or alledged mutiny, or something of that sort" (41:159).

It is possible, too, that Melville heard of Fox's escape, for the frigate *United States* in which he served and the *Constellation* from which Fox escaped were together in Callao harbor in January 1844,[22] a few months after Fox disappeared.

Into the well of memory, where experiences lived through and yarns heard eight to ten years before accumulated in sometimes distinct and sometimes shadowy form, Melville dipped when he wrote *Moby-Dick.* It is probable that he found the basic sources for Chapter 54, "The Town-Ho's Story,"[23] in a reminiscent montage of events on the *Nassau,* the *Mercury,* and the *Vineyard.*

Cruising the Pacific Ocean somewhere to the north of the Line, the fictitious whaler *Town-Ho* of Nantucket one morning springs a leak, having been rammed, it is supposed, by a swordfish. Without fear of serious accident the captain continues his search for whales, with seamen manning the pumps at intervals. After a time, however, the amount of water the craft is making so greatly increases that orders are given to sail for the nearest island port.

Among the foremast hands of the *Town-Ho* is a seaman named Steelkilt, "a Lakeman and desperado from Buffalo" (54:244) a mariner of heroic proportions. Taking his turn at the pumps one day, Steelkilt makes to his companions certain jesting remarks concerning Radney, the mate of the ship, a Vineyarder "ugly as a mule; yet as hardy, as stubborn, as malicious" (54:246). Radney overhears Steelkilt's words and determines "to sting and insult" (54:247) him. While the Lakeman, panting from his finished labors and wiping profuse sweat from his face, is resting on the windlass, Radney commands him to sweep down the upper deck and remove from it some excrement. The duty is a menial one, always reserved for the boys of the ship. Steelkilt, therefore, refuses to obey. He points to the regular sweepers, who have been idle while he worked at the pumps. Radney replies with a curse. Seizing the cooper's club, Radney advances on the Lakeman and repeats his command. Steelkilt at first retreats around the windlass, declaring his determination not to obey and warning the mate not to touch him with the hammer. "But . . . the fool had been branded for the slaughter by the gods. Immediately the hammer touched the cheek; the next instant the lower jaw of the mate was stove in his head; he fell on the hatch spouting blood like a whale" (54:248).

In the ensuing turmoil, Steelkilt, joined by nine followers, takes refuge behind a group of large casks, which they slew in a line on the forecastle deck. As spokesman for the revolters, the Lakeman addresses his indignant captain,

who menaces them with two sea pistols. They would all willingly return to duty and continue to man the pumps, Steelkilt says, but only upon the promise that no one would be flogged. The captain will make no such agreement. To his repeated order, "Turn to!" Steelkilt replies, "treat us decently, and we're your men; but we won't be flogged."

"Down into the forecastle then, down with ye; I'll keep ye there till ye're sick of it. Down ye go" (54:251).

With some reluctance the men go below, followed by their leader. Then the captain shuts and padlocks the hatchway. Twice a day for three days he summons the prisoners to work, and each time they yell at him in refusal. On the fourth morning, however, four men burst from the forecastle and offer to do their duty. The fetid closeness of their prison and the scant diet of bread and water have apparently overcome them. Three more revolters give themselves up on the fifth morning.

In rage and desperation Steelkilt proposes a frantic plan to his remaining two followers. They will arm themselves with mincing knives, rush forth at the next summoning, and if possible seize the ship. The two men agree to his proposal, but that night they betray him. As he sleeps they bind and gag him and call at midnight for the captain. The three men are seized into the mizzen rigging and left there until morning.

At sunrise all hands are called to witness punishment. The captain begins with the two traitors, laying the rope on their backs with such force that they soon "lifelessly hung their heads sideways, as the two crucified thieves are drawn" (54:253). When he turns to Steelkilt, the Lakeman warns him not to strike. He hisses something audible only to the captain. To the surprise of the whalemen, the master of the *Town-Ho* throws down his rope.

"I won't do it—let him go—cut him down: d'ye hear?" (54:254).

Radney is not similarly reluctant. He grasps the rope and flogs Steelkilt.

The men return sullenly to their duty, and there are no further signs of rebellion. In accord with Steelkilt's advice the mariners remain peaceful, planning to jump ship in a group as soon as the *Town-Ho* reaches land. To hasten their desertion, all agree not to sing out for whales.

Meanwhile Steelkilt privately and systematically builds a plan of revenge against Radney. On his watches below he is observed braiding something with twine. Soon he has fashioned his weapon—"an iron ball, closely netted" (54:255). Serving in Radney's watch, he knows that the mate is in the habit at night of sitting on the bulwarks of the quarter-deck, of leaning his arm upon the gunwale of a hoisted boat, and in this attitude occasionally dozing off. Steelkilt knows that his next trick at the helm will come in twenty-four hours at two o'clock in the morning. It is then that he plans to take his revenge. But

"by a mysterious fatality, Heaven itself seemed to step in to take out of his hands into its own the damning thing he would have done" (54:255–56).

Moby Dick, the great white whale, breaches within 50 yards of the *Town-Ho.* In a frenzy the boats are lowered and give chase, Radney's boat pulling well ahead of the others. When his harpooner successfully darts an iron into the monster, the mate, lance in hand, takes his place in the bow. His men follow literally his order to beach him upon the whale's topmost back. The boat strikes Moby Dick, and Radney spills upon the white whale and then into the water. Seizing the Vineyarder between his jaws, Moby Dick rears high up and plunges headlong into the sea.

After the *Town-Ho* reaches an island port, all but five or six of the foremast hands desert. Later they sail from the island in a double war-canoe. Now grievously short-handed, the captain of the *Town-Ho* calls upon natives for assistance in heaving down his whaler and repairing the leak. Once the work is done he set out with one man in his best whaleboat for Tahiti, hoping there to get additional mariners for the ship. On passage he meets with the war canoe led by Steelkilt. Boarding the whaleboat, the Lakeman makes the master of the *Town-Ho* swear to land on a nearby island and remain there six days. Thus the deserters "for ever got the start of their former captain" (54:258).

There is a remarkable similarity between the nautical mishap of the fictional *Town-Ho* and that of the actual *London Packet.* Melville and Toby Greene at Nukahiva saw this Fairhaven ship on July 7, 1842, "put in leaky having been run through by a Billfish."[24] Whether or not the whaler was repaired at Nukahiva, she continued taking water during her next cruise for whales, when Greene sailed aboard her as a foremast hand. In January 1843 she "was run on shore at Whahapoa, Bay of Islands [New Zealand] . . . to be repaired, the blade of a sword fish having passed through her bottom."[25]

The open boat journey of the *Town-Ho*'s captain to Tahiti suggests a nearly parallel event connected with the destruction in August 1842 of the *Cadmus* of Fairhaven. After this ship was wrecked on a lagoon island, Captain Edwin L. Mayhew, his first mate, and four men took the only whaleboat left and sailed more than a thousand miles to Tahiti for assistance. They arrived on August 21, and Captain Mayhew chartered the schooner *Emerald* to go to the scene of the accident. (The master of the *Town-Ho* chartered at Tahiti "a small native schooner" [54:258].) Finding eighteen destitute survivors of the *Cadmus,* Captain Christopher Hall brought them in the *Emerald* to Tahiti on September 30,[26] shortly after Melville had cast his lot there with ten revolters of the barque *Lucy Ann.*

From the *Nassau, Vineyard,* and *Mercury* tales of his Lahaina and Honolulu days Melville seems to have taken the essential ingredients for human conflict in "The Town-Ho's Story." Both Melville's Steelkilt and the actual

Luther Fox hailed from New York, one a native of Buffalo, the other of Rensselaerville. Each of them was ordered by the mate of his ship to perform a humiliating task, a punishment hardly commensurate with the behavior that provoked it. Both men reacted with violence. Although he never, like Fox, used a mincing knife as a weapon, Steelkilt referred menacingly to "those mincing knives down in the forecastle" (54:251), and he planned to arm himself and his followers with "keen mincing knives (long, crescentic, heavy implements with a handle at each end) [and] run a muck from the bowsprit to the taffrail" (54:252).

Benjamin Brown of the *Vineyard* suffered humiliation, too, and he found his vengeance, striking the second mate of his ship with just such a weapon as Steelkilt planned to use against Mate Radney. There are further parallels to "The Town-Ho's Story" in the *Vineyard* revolt of 1842. The rebellious whalemen of the Edgartown ship were locked in the forecastle by their indignant master. To Captain Crocker's command that they return to the upper deck, a few of the less hardy of the disaffected complied, but others continued day after day to shout scornful refusal.

Steelkilt, like Joseph Smith of the *Mercury,* defied the master of the whaler in which he served and threatened violence or even murder if anyone were flogged. Although he did not prevent two of the men from feeling the sting of the lash, he warned his captain, "What I say is this—and mind it well—if you flog me, I murder you!" (54:254). And a further hissed statement, "inaudible to all but the Captain" (54:254), was sufficient to make the captain throw down the lash.

Here the basic similarities of fact and fiction end. "The Town-Ho's Story" differs considerably in its details from any of its factual counterparts. Melville motivates, in terms of a well-established personal antagonism, the violence of his story. There is nothing in the record to indicate a prolonged dislike between Luther Fox and Jepitha Jenney or between Benjamin Brown and the mate of the *Vineyard.* He has Steelkilt build a plan of private revenge against Mate Radney. Fox's murder of Mr. Jenney seems to have been the result of an impulse of anger rather than of deliberate planning, and Benjamin Brown's revenge was achieved by communal, not private, planning. And Melville has an external agency kill the mate.

In the climax of "The Town-Ho's Story," Radney dramatically meets his death, not from a blow with a mincing knife or a slung shot, but in the grinding jaws of the white whale, who, though often reckoned a symbol of evil in the world, anomalously becomes the avenging agent of a somewhat inverted poetic justice.

APPENDIX I

Toby Greene

THOMAS FAREL HEFFERNAN

Richard Tobias Greene was an ideal partner in escapade for Herman Melville and an ideal literary resource. As a fellow adventurer he had the traits, familiar in nineteenth-century America, of a ready-for-anything believer in the adequacy of his powers and his opportunities. Uninhibited by precedent, just directionless enough to be game, and imaginative enough to know that his shipmate was even more imaginative than he (and to respect him for it), Toby was a good companion with whom Melville could jump ship. And he was the most perfect witness imaginable for the veracity of *Typee* when early reviews of the book suggested that it was a fanciful invention.

The interest that attaches to Toby Greene as a person and to the role he played in Melville's life and career has been heightened by facts about him that have gradually emerged, some of them after the completion of Wilson Heflin's work on the manuscript of this book. This appendix derives from Heflin's research and that of later scholars, cited in the notes below, on whom it is reasonable to assume Heflin would have drawn.

The fullest account of Toby's life to appear in the nineteenth century is probably his obituary in the Chicago *News Record* for August 25, 1892. Appearing two days after Toby's death, it is a good indication of what his contemporaries knew of him and thought of him. It is given here in full:

DEATH OF R. T. GREENE.
HERO OF THE STORY, THE TYPEE.

An Old Chicago Resident who Had Led a Life of Adventure—Cast Among Cannibals . . .

> Richard Tobias Greene, the hero of Herman Melville's South sea story "Typee," the bosom friend of the author and a descendant of Gen. Nathaniel T. Greene, the patriot, died Tuesday afternoon at his home at 111 Warren avenue. His death closed a life as full of suffering as it was of adventure. Mr. Greene had been an invalid ever since the close of the late war, his constitu-

tion being ruined by the diseases contracted during his service with Grant and Logan. For the last year Mr. Greene had been confined almost constantly to his bed. Five days before his death he was entirely overcome by a stroke of paralysis. From that time there was noted by his wife a constant failing until death came.

Richard T. Greene led a most eventful life. He was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1825. When a mere child he came with his parents to America. His father settled in Rochester, N.Y., and there Mr. Greene received his education, taking the public school and academic courses. After leaving school he studied law with John C. Spencer, the noted attorney whose son was executed for mutiny at Canandaigua, N.Y. He was admitted to the bar, but before he began the practice of his profession went to sea with Herman Melville, the author, who had been a friend of his boyhood. The young men joined as common sailors the crew of a whaler, and in 1841 started on a voyage over the Pacific in search of the huge mammals. After cruising about for eighteen months the ship put into the Marguesas [*sic*] islands for repairs. On account of the brutal treatment to which the captain of the vessel subjected his men, Melville and Greene decided to desert.

In the Land of the Man-Eaters.

One night when the ship was in a small bay on the coast of the island of Nukuhiva they dropped over the side of the whaler, swam to shore and were soon lost in the dense forests of the island. They had been on land but a few hours when they discovered that they were in the home of the Typee cannibals. They had many adventures with and many narrow escapes from the savages.

Finally Melville was captured, but Greene escaped. He made his way to the seashore and finally got away from the island. Melville was held in friendly captivity for four months. Then Greene led a party of rescuers from an Australian ship, and after a hard battle Melville was rescued and shipped on board the Australian vessel. Two years later they returned home, and in 1846 "The Typee" was published, recounting their life among the savages.

As a Newspaper Editor.

Mr. Greene then went to Buffalo and edited the Courier for some time. He assisted in constructing the first telegraph line west of New York state and opened the first telegraph office in Ohio at Sandusky. For some years he published the Sandusky Mirror, now called the Register. In 1857 Mr. Greene came to Chicago with his wife and took a position on the Times, which he held up to the beginning of the war.

He enlisted in the 6th Infantry of Missouri, and for three years was a trusted clerk at Gen. Grant's headquarters. His time expiring before the war ended, he again on Oct. 19, 1864, enlisted with the 1st Illinois light artil-

> lery, with which regiment he remained until the war ended. He returned to Chicago, his health entirely destroyed, and since that time has been unable to attend to any kind of business.
>
> Mr. Greene leaves a wife and one son, Herman M. Greene. The funeral will be held to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock at the Warren avenue home. The interment will take place at Rose Hill.[1]

The obituary contains some first-hand information and impressions along with details that are hard to support. 1825 may have been the year of Toby's birth and Dublin the place, although records are in conflict on both date and place.[2] The report that Toby was a descendant of the revolutionary war figure, General Nathanael Greene, is incorrect if it means direct descendant—remotely there may have been a relationship.[3]

Toby enters the documented record when, in his early twenties, he signed on what was to become one of the most famous whaleships in American history. When he and Melville deserted that ship in Nukahiva, they began a few weeks of adventures of which both were to leave accounts. Chapter 16 above examines what befell the two deserters and how they reported it. Melville's account in *Typee* and Toby's in "Toby's Own Story" are, as has been noted in that chapter, in less than perfect agreement. What the two accounts say of the time the deserters spent together needs reconciling; what Toby says of his days after the two were separated comes from his account alone.

The *London Packet* on which Toby left Nukahiva and eventually arrived back in Fairhaven was a 335-ton whaler out of New Bedford under the command of Captain Jabez Howland (Starbuck gives Moses Howland). It was out on a prosperous voyage, having 1,800 barrels of sperm by the time that it reached New Zealand. It sailed, as Toby said, "among the Islands for four months, when our ship sprung aleak [*sic*] and we shifted our course for New Zealand, where we arrived in about four months after I left Nukeheva." Local New Zealand papers, the *Bay of Islands Observer* (October 27, 1842) and the *Nelson Examiner* (November 12, 1842), reported that the *London Packet* arrived October 17, 1842. The *Nelson Examiner* in its report explained the leak that Toby said caused the ship to head for New Zealand: "The American whaler LONDON PACKET ran on shore at Wahapoa, Bay of Islands, to be repaired, the blade of a swordfish having passed through her bottom into the oil." (This ship is not to be confused with the New Bedford bark, *London Packet,* Captain Sampson, which by coincidence arrived in Bay of Islands the same day as Toby's *London Packet.*) Toby would have almost four months (October 17, 1842 to February 3, 1843) at his disposal while the *London Packet* was being repaired. It was during this period, he tells us, that he served briefly on two smaller cargo vessels. The *Harlequin,* built in 1828, was a 71-ton two-masted schooner engaged in coastal trade out of Bay of Islands. Toby says that

he served on this ship for three months. The *Nimrod* was a 174-ton two-masted brig, about which the *Sydney Herald* reported (November 14, 1842), "The brig NIMROD, which belonged to this port, has been purchased by some parties at the Bay of Islands, who we believe, intend converting her into a whaler." During the month of service Toby says he spent on the *Nimrod,* however, it was still carrying local cargo. The reconciliation of Toby's account with the sailing records of the *Harlequin* and the *Nimrod* is somewhat problematic. The *Harlequin* came into Bay of Islands October 14, 1842, sailed a week later, October 21, and was out until November 24, when it returned to Bay of Islands. Toby could easily have served on that cruise of the *Harlequin.* The *Nimrod* arrived in Bay of Islands September 11, more than a month before the *London Packet,* and left October 23 for Wellington and other ports; it left Wellington December 26 for Bay of Islands (arrival date unrecorded). Toby could as easily have served on the *Nimrod* for this cruise. The problem is that it is hard to see how he could have served on both the *Harlequin* and the *Nimrod.* (The next cruises of the *Nimrod,* to Tahiti, and the *Harlequin,* to Sydney, would not have returned in time to permit Toby to rejoin the *London Packet* by its sailing date, February 3, 1843.) Toby in any event was back in Fairhaven July 4, 1843.[4]

No records have been found of his next two years, but by the end of 1845 he had established himself as a house and sign painter in Buffalo. There he surfaced in July 1846 when he wrote the two letters (see texts in Chapter 16) in defense of the accuracy of *Typee* that put him in touch with his now prominent former shipmate.[5]

Some time between July 15 and 22, 1846, around the time of the publication of "Toby's Own Story," Melville's visit to Toby in upstate New York took place.[6] Melville told his publisher, Murray, in a September 2, 1846, letter, "I have seen Toby, have his darguerreotype [*sic*]—a lock of those ebon curls."[7] Within the next six or seven months Toby was to write Melville a letter ill-calculated to keep their friendship warm—he asked for a share of the profits from *Typee.* Happily he followed that letter with an apology that seems to have been efficacious; all this is known from a letter dated February 19, 1847, from Melville's sister Helen to their sister Augusta:

> By to-days mail we received a letter from "Toby" dated Buffalo. To Herman of course; but we recognized the handwriting and opened it. It is really a beautiful letter, begging pardon for that "cursed letter, which he *copied,* but never composed," and saying that he was put up to it by people who professed to be his friends, and who were continually pestering him with entreaties to apply to Herman for his share of the profits, in the immense sales of Typee; and—goes on to say—"I find on consideration that I have

> no right to any such thing. You must my dear friend forgive and forget all, as an old ship-mate and friend, you must remember human nature is liable to err. I am heartily sorry, that I ever penned that infernal scrawl."
>
> He says he wants to know all about Herman, says he has been the means of selling a great many copies of Typee—feels highly flattered with the mention of him in the second edition—hears he is writing again, and wishes him good success.—- I shall write Herman tomorrow and enclose Toby's letter. Are you not glad? I could not bear that a cloud should come between such old and tried friends. Herman's reply to his letter, so beautifully gentle & noble, without any spice [*sic*—spite?] or anger of contempt for his unworthy conduct, has brought him to his senses, and the result really rejoices me"[8]

Toby and Melville did maintain contact for some years. While some of Toby's letters remain, none of Melville's to Toby have been located; it would be reasonable to assume that they were burned in the great Chicago fire of October 1871.

The reported details of Toby's life before and immediately after his service at sea are sketchy. For several years after 1847, the year in which he requested—and apologized for requesting—a share in the profits of *Typee,* Toby is barely on record. Thomas Gold Appleton mentioned in the *Literary World* in 1849 that he had met Toby. That was the year that Toby married and four years before his son, Herman Melville Greene, was born. What else filled up the years between 1847 (the year John Murray published the revised *Typee* with "The Story of Toby" appended) and 1854 can only be guessed from hints like the Sandusky *Register*'s report in January 1854 that Toby had "once again" taken a position as telegraph operator in Lexington, Kentucky. These details—and Toby's life as a whole—suggest that he was a model of the kind of frontier enterprise that Emerson cited as characteristic of the young American of his day—sign painter, telegraph operator, journalist, art gallery employee, and perhaps law student; in later records he astonishingly appears as "physician" and "chemist."

Even in his connections by marriage there seems to be a touch of enterprise: he married into a distinguished upstate New York family and, through this marriage, was tied to a prominent publishing family. In 1849 he married Mary Jane Flower Stone, who had been a widow for eight years and was a distant cousin of Roswell P. Flower, later governor of New York State; she was also a cousin of Senator J. R. Doolittle of Wisconsin.[9]

Mary Jane's sister Charlotte married Chauncey Lyman Derby. It was as a result of this marriage that Toby referred to himself as Derby's brother-in-law, using the term in an accepted but extended sense; it would have been more

precise to call himself the husband of Derby's sister-in-law, but in any event the relationship was real enough to give Toby a connection to the publishing and art empire of the four Derby brothers, a connection that seems to have had an influence on his employment and activity during the 1850s.[10] The Derbys were a heady group to be intimate with—congenial types for the versatile Toby. The oldest of the brothers, James Cephas Derby, who has left a record of his career in his book, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books, and Publishers* (1884), began working as a teenager for an Auburn, New York, publisher and by age 22 had become the proprietor of his own firm, J. C. Derby & Co. Among the firm's titles was *The Haunted Barque, and Other Poems* (1848) by Ephraim Curtiss Hine, Melville's shipmate on the U.S.F. *United States,* who is drolly pictured in *White-Jacket* as the poet Lemsford. Another of James Derby's authors was Fanny Fern, whose *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio* (1853) sold 80,000 copies in its first year of publication. Moving to New York in 1853, he set up a successful publishing house for which he hired such readers as George Ripley and Thomas Bailey Aldrich. He ended his career as an associate in the house of D. Appleton & Co. in charge of Appleton's subscription book department.

A brother, George Hunter Derby, began working for James and soon set up his own business first in Geneva and then in Buffalo—probably shortly after Toby left that city. James and George were bold enough entrepreneurs to attempt the opening of a book store in California, but George's death from cholera at the age of 29 altered the plan; the stock that the Derbys had shipped to California went into the development of the bookselling and publishing business of Hubert H. Bancroft, George Derby's brother-in-law and former clerk, now best known for his research in western history and for the bequest of his papers to what has become the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.

A third brother, Henry W. Derby, settled first in Columbus and then Cincinnati, where he published important titles in law, western history, medicine, and other fields. He was later U.S. consul at Düsseldorf and subsequently an adviser on art purchases to the New York department store magnate, A. T. Stewart.

The Derby brother who had the greatest significance in the life of Toby Greene is Chauncey Lyman Derby, who worked first for his brother James in Auburn and then moved to Sandusky, Ohio, where he had opened a bookstore by 1851. In 1853 the store was described as "one of the finest in this state."[11] Toby was already in the Sandusky area in 1849, for that was the year of his marriage, which took place in Elyria, Ohio, about 40 miles away.[12] By 1854 Toby was a newspaper man, working for the Sandusky *Daily Mirror.* Chauncey meanwhile had expanded from bookselling to the sale of art works, and founded

the Cosmopolitan Art Association, originally an art lottery (magazine subscriptions were sold along with chances on works of art for which there would be periodic drawings—the enterprise was extremely popular). About a week before Toby began working for the Sandusky *Daily Mirror,* Chauncey held, on October 31, 1854, the grand opening of the new Cosmopolitan Gallery of Art; eight months later he gave up the bookselling end of the business to devote himself exclusively to art sales. Honorary members of the Association for 1856–57 included Washington Irving, Bayard Taylor, W. G. Simms, and Mrs. Sigourney. Derby soon opened a New York gallery (as had his brother Henry), but the Sandusky, not the New York, gallery was the setting of the event of the year 1857, the art prize drawing at which Ralph Waldo Emerson, on January 28, delivered his lecture, "Beauty." It is highly likely that Toby in the guise of one of the staff met Emerson on this occasion.

Given Chauncey's position in the city when Toby settled there in 1854, it could well have been the Derby influence that got Toby his job at the Sandusky *Mirror*—and perhaps some of his 1855 lecturing engagements. Not only did Toby's connection with Melville enhance him in brother-in-law Derby's eyes, but his connection with Derby was something to let Melville know about. On June 16, 1856, Toby wrote to Melville, "I have just been reading the 'Piazza Tales,' which my brother-in-law Derby, presented me." In the same letter he reported, "I am engaged with C. L. Derby in the Cosmopolitan Art Association and from his connection with the different publishers I am enabled to keep the *run* of you."[13] Whatever else Toby told Melville about the Derbys, it left enough of an impression for Elizabeth Melville to suggest in a June 23, 1860, letter to Evert Duyckinck that the collection of poems that Melville had just completed—and that had been rejected by two publishers—be sent to the publishing firm of Derby and Jackson, "the first named being a brother-in-law of 'Toby' of Typee memory."[14]

Toby may have stayed with his telegraph job through most of the year but late in 1854 he moved into the limelight as never before in his life. Toby's four months following November 1854 were a carnival of aborted undertakings in what would today be called the media. He was a writer, lecturer, and editor—each for an intense few weeks.[15] In November 1854 he began writing a column for the Sandusky *Daily Mirror,* in February 1855 he began a lecture tour that lasted about a month, and in March 1855 he accepted a position as an editor of the Buffalo *Daily Courier,* a position that lasted about two weeks. His next move was back to Sandusky to work for the *Daily Mirror,* which had briefly suspended publication and was ready to resume operations in April. Toby apparently joined the paper at this time, but a few months later he was in New York. In the June 16, 1856, letter already quoted, Toby, after alluding to *The Piazza Tales* continued:

> The "Encantadas" called up reminiscences of days gone bye—the *Acushnet*—the "turpin" &c. The tales are charming. I read them with delight, but when I say so, no doubt I reiterate the sayings of thousands of your readers.
>
> By the way do you remember Haynor the Steward? Well I found him in New Orleans last winter keeping a Hotel! He wished to be remembered to you, should I write you.
>
> What has become of "Typee"? Were the plates burned in Harpers' big fire? It is out of the question to procure a copy. I am asked for it every day. Do you still retain your copy right?
>
> I am determined to keep you in remembrance. So you would think if you could see my little son, two years old, who glories in the name of "Herman Melville"—I have been promising myself the pleasure of a peep at you among the hills this long time, and shall do so one of these days. I was in New York last summer but was told that you were off some where on a visit.[16]

On January 9, 1858, just two days before Melville was scheduled to lecture in Cleveland, Toby wrote to him from Sandusky:

> Dear Old Shipmate:
>
> Hearing that you were to be in Cleveland and my wife being there on a visit, I wished her to see you. Were it at all possible I would go down myself for I would like much to see you. Cant you take this place in your route? You would be warmly received. As the young men's Association has broken up here we have a scarcity of lecturers. If you will come I will give good notice here and 'tend door for you if necessary. Your being at Cleveland is noticed in our daily papers. There are a number of Pittsfield folks here, who know you by reputation. How I would like a *yarn* from you about the East Will you come up here?[17]

Mary Jane Greene did attend Melville's talk in Cleveland and years later, on November 14, 1892, shortly after Toby's death, wrote Elizabeth Melville about it.

Around June 1859 Toby moved to Chicago, where he was listed in city directories and the 1860 census as a "physician." On January 4, 1861, Toby (misdating his letter 1860—that common slip in the first few days of a new year) wrote to Melville from Chicago, "Hope you enjoy good health, . . . I would be delighted to see you and 'freshen the nip' . . . I shall most certainly avail myself of your kind invitation if ever I travel that way, which may not be far distant For myself I am doing nothing, except 'wasting my sweetness on the desert air' of this fast country. . . . I think I will go to New York soon and see if I can get into business there I have been very unfortunate up here, and would like, at least, to get a situation, if I cannot retrieve whats lost."[18] Two

weeks before this letter, on December 24, 1860, Oliver Russ, a shipmate of Melville's from the *United States,* had written to Melville from the village of Pembroke, New York, "I live but a short distance from Mr Green the father of Toby I often see the old gentleman but have never seen Richard (Toby) but learn that he is now in Mishagan, and that he is not a very desirable patern for a husband and father but perfection is not to be found in man."[19]

Both Toby and Russ seem to have had, as Lynn Horth puts it, "an exalted notion . . . of Melville's life as a famous writer."[20] Both received children's gifts from Melville, apparently engraved silver spoons: for Toby's son Herman Melville Greene, for Toby's nephew Richard Melville Hair, and for Russ's son Herman Melville Russ. In his April 8, 1861, letter of thanks for the spoons, Toby wrote, "In the name of your namesake I thank you sincerely for this pledge of kind remembrance, and hope that the kind feelings which exist between us may never be darkened by a shadow. My mind often reverts to the many pleasant moonlight watches we passed together on the deck of the 'Acushnet' as we whiled away the hours with yarn and song till 'eight bells.'"[21]

About a month and a half after writing to Melville, during the last week in May 1861, Toby made a fateful move with the same abandon he had shown when he went to sea on a whaler—he joined the Union army. It was a turning point in his life, for he was going to return home from the war in ruined health to live out three decades of debility and helplessness.

Toby's service began in the last week of May 1861 with his enlistment as a private in the 6th Missouri Volunteer Infantry; from this regiment he deserted and joined the 11th Illinois Infantry. Once again he deserted, this time to return to his old regiment, the 6th Missouri, as a clerk in General Grant's headquarters. Granted sick leave, he returned to Chicago for several months, then rejoined his regiment and was assigned, again as clerk, to General Sherman's 15th Army Corps and on June 24, 1864, was discharged at Big Shanty, Georgia. He returned to Chicago but was home only a while before re-enlisting, this time in the 1st Illinois Volunteer Light Artillery, with which he served until his discharge July 3, 1865. He saw action with his first regiment south of St. Louis and with his second in Kentucky, and participated in a most important battle, that of Vicksburg. He was also present at the battle of Lookout Mountain and marched with Sherman on Atlanta.[22]

Toby's two desertions apparently resulted in no disciplinary action at the time, but did for a while threaten his pension. His own account of the desertions puts the best possible face on them—and probably, in fact, represents them as they were actually perceived by his officers. In a long deposition, in which he petitioned for his pension, he writes:

Your petitioner in this behalf states that he never in fact was a deserter, but that in point of fact he was continually in the service as a private soldier from the time of his respective enlistments until the time of his respective discharges as herein above stated, save when he was absent on sick furlough, or save when he was serving upon detail or detached service. Your petitioner admits that he supposes it to be true that he was reported as a deserter at one time from the 6th Missouri, and also from the 11th Illinois Infantry; but in this behalf petitioner states the facts to be as follows:—

That your petitioner was detailed by the regimental surgeon of the 6th Missouri Regiment, George Walker, as his hospital nurse, but your petitioner's duties in fact were those of a clerk to said surgeon, and your petitioner in such detailed service was frequently called upon to do the duties of an Orderly, carrying messages, etc. That on or about the ___ day of _____ 18__, . . . the said 6th Mo. Volunteers were stationed near Memphis, Tenn., and your petitioner was ordered to carry a letter to a surgeon stationed in Memphis, about three miles from the camp of said Regiment. Your petitioner performed this order, but being on foot could not get back to his regiment before the setting in of night, and on his way back was arrested by the provost of the patrol guard for being away from the regiment after dark without a pass, and was confined over night (despite the explanations and protests of your petitioner) in the guard-house in Memphis. That the following morning your petitioner together with other prisoners from said guard-house was taken out to the fort, as your petitioner supposes for work in construction, but your petitioner made his escape, and returned to his regiment headquarters, reporting to the surgeon of the 6th Missouri Volunteers, and stating the treatment to which your petitioner had been subjected. That said surgeon laughed at your petitioner, which so enraged your petitioner at the moment that he left the regiment, and wandered about through the camps in the vicinity until he came to the 11th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, with which he took up, and served as a private soldier in that regiment until the arrival of the command in front of Vicksburg. That your petitioner participated in the actions in which said 11th Illinois Infantry was engaged, and on the 22nd of May, 1863, was with the regiment in the general charge on the works around Vicksburg. . . . That thereafter your petitioner went to the Captain of the company in the 11th Illinois Infantry, with which your petitioner had been serving in the interim after his departure from the 6th Missouri, Kenyon by name, and told him that your petitioner belonged to the 6th Missouri Infantry by right, and that your petitioner proposed to return to said regiment. Said Captain made no objection to your petitioner's proposed return, and concurred in the supposition then entertained by your petitioner that your petitioner did not require a discharge from the 11th Illinois Infantry to return and serve out the term of his enlistment in the 6th Missouri. That thereupon your petitioner went back to the 6th Missouri

> Infantry, and reported to the commander thereof, Colonel Blood, and he told your petitioner to go to his quarters, and nothing further was said in reference to your petitioner's technical desertion from said regiment, and no action was taken in connection therewith or in reference thereto.[23]

The reader of *Typee* who is inclined to speculate about the degree of bad treatment by the captain of the *Acushnet* that preceded the desertions of Melville and Toby from that ship may wonder if there is any light shed on the question by considering that being laughed at by a commanding officer is enough to prompt a Civil War battlefield desertion.

Midway through his military career, Toby was afflicted with the rheumatism, diarrhea, and neuralgia that were to dominate the rest of his life; they took him out of the front lines and got him assignments as headquarters clerk (but did not prompt him to seek discharge) and after the end of the war when he was discharged his diseases became the substance of his appeals for an improved pension. In these appeals he enlisted officers he had served under, doctors who had treated him, and friends who could testify to his altered condition on returning from the war. In a typical petition he deposed in the third person:

> that he continued . . . in active Service, on marches, in trenches, in camp and battles and in other duties incident to a soldier's life, that he was on the long march from Milliken's Bend to Vicksburg. and was engaged in several battles, on said march. He was in the battle of "Big Black River Crossing" on the approach to Vicksburg. His health was good until about the 15th of May 1863. While in the trenches near Vicksburg he contracted diarrhea on or about the 15th day of May 1863, caused by long exposure on the march from Millikens Bend.[24]

The three disorders were grave enough to keep Toby, once he returned to civilian life, from any gainful employment. One report describes him as acting as a doorman at his wife's art gallery (the only record of this business of hers) when he was able.[25] How able he was may be judged by a vignette of his condition while still in the military: "he was taken with Reumatism which was so very severe that a clerk at the Head Quarters named Curtis Gilbert formerly a reporter for a New York paper kindly assisted Greene from his bed to his desk, and back again."[26]

In the midst of the supportive testimony sent to the U.S. Pension Agency about Toby the strangest communication is from a Methodist Episcopal minister, the Rev. James S. Greene, Toby's brother, who wrote to the Commissioner of Invalid Pensions:

> I deem it my duty to present the application for an Invalid Pension of Richard T. Greene, . . . as gross fraud. It is true, said Richard T. Greene enlisted in that regiment, and was honorably mustered out of the service at the close of his term; but it is equally true, that he was on detached service the greatest part of his time, serving at General Grant's headquarters as a clerk a part of the time in both cases being comfortably provided for. He makes his boast that he made out his own muster roll, and that, [if the] general had known these facts, I am sure he would not have used his influence in this matter.
>
> Now, Sir, these are facts easily proven, and I only present them because I believe the claim to be fraudulent, and further, because I believe if he got the money it would do him no good.
>
> I am a member of the same family, bearing Richard T. Greene or his wife no ill-will. I merely wish to prevent what I must regard as a fraud.
>
> I hope this communication will be held confidential. I am a Methodist Local Minister.[27]

The astonishing letter is unique among more than a hundred personal and official documents in Toby's personnel file in the National Archives. If Melville had seen it, he might have thought that he was reading the words of one of his own characters, the Reverend Mr. Falsgrave in *Pierre.* Happily four subsequent letters of brother James are supportive of Toby and his pension petition; one of the letters even handles the question of Toby's drinking sensitively: "I can give no opinion as to whether those diseases he complained of were in any measure aggravated by habits of drinking intoxicants which he formed in after years, and which never seemed to have any impairing effect beyond the intoxication, from which a few hours sleep recovered him. For the past eighteen months he has been an abstainer."[28]

Toby outlived Melville by a year, weakened and helpless from the diseases he brought back from the war. "He depends upon the personal aid and constant attention of his wife who has spent a comfortable competency while caring for him besides greatly injuring her own health," wrote Toby's sister-in-law, Charlotte Wheaton. Mrs. Wheaton's husband, Colonel Loyd Wheaton, in a document supporting Toby's pension petition, was more precise about the "comfortable competency": "The reason he did not apply for this pension before is his wife's property amounted in money and real estate to from $75,000 to $100,000 at the close of the war, but has all been expended in endeavoring to restore his health, and caring for and nursing him since the close of the war."[29] A friend, W. P. Black, reported that the Greenes had mortgaged their furniture.[30] The possession—and depletion—of such a large fortune may seem astonishing, but Toby had been ill and disabled for more than twenty years when the family friends were writing petitions on his be-

half; a fortune could easily be eroded in that time. Where Mary Jane Greene's fortune came from—her art gallery?—is a provocative question.

Toby certainly could not work. His fingers were so twisted and "clubbed" by rheumatism that he could never have returned to the operation of the telegraph equipment he knew so well. "Life is almost a burden," he had written in 1887, five years before he died.[31]

Dr. Joseph Haven, called in to attend Toby on August 19, 1892, wrote:

> At that time found patient unconscious, breathing Sterterous and paralysis of left side and evidences of Cerebral hemorrhage. Auscultation over heart showed chronic disease of that organ Dilatation and mitral regurgitant murmur. Learned that patient had been subject for some time to dizzy spells, faintess and lack of coordination in walking and that these diseases of the nervous and circulating systems had been rapidly progressing of late although dating back many years for their start.
>
> Patient rallied a little on second day of my attendance but at no time regained full consciousness or full use of left arm or limb. Other symptoms were delerious and inarticulate muttering, inability to void urine, loss of control of bowel, on the 3rd day he passed into comatose condition with deep sterterous breathing and died August 23d 1892.[32]

On June 16, 1856, Toby had written to Melville, "Will you spare time to drop me a line or two? It will prove my identity, for I am still proud of the immortality with which you have invested me."[33] He was right—his shipmate had immortalized him.

APPENDIX II

The Marquesas

MARY K. BERCAW EDWARDS

Introduction

Herman Melville's arrival on the island of Nukahiva in the Marquesas in 1842 occurred on the eve of catastrophic change. The French had just established control of this group of Pacific islands, a control that would lead to the decimation of the population and the consequent loss of cultural history. The following discussion will look at the sources of information for Marquesan history before 1842. From these sources, scholars have depicted the Marquesas as they appeared at the time of Melville's arrival. The divisions and alliances between three of the major population groups on Nukahiva—the Taipi, Hapaa, and Teii—will be delineated. Finally, the French annexation of the Marquesas in 1842 and what followed from that event will be briefly discussed. This essay is indebted to the work of Greg Dening, Nicholas Thomas, Edwin N. Ferdon, and Robert C. Suggs, as well as to the chroniclers of early contact between Europeans and Marquesans.

Pre-1842 Sources

The Marquesas are a group of twelve islands in Eastern Polynesia. The large islands of Nukahiva, Ua Huka, and Ua Pou comprise the northern group and Hiva Oa, Tahuata, and Fatuiva the southern. Their inhabitants are Polynesian, but when they first came to these tall, steeply-sided, volcanic islands is the subject of much debate. The history of the islands before European contact is known only from oral sources: from the long genealogies of the people, who called themselves simply "Te Enata," the Men.

The scholar of the Marquesas, however, depends largely on written sources. These were written by outsiders: soldiers, explorers, ships' officers, missionaries, beachcombers, priests, government officials, and European-based scholars who interviewed former Marquesan inhabitants, both native and non-native. Pre-1842 sources are especially important. The 1863 law which

forbade war, killing, the purchase of guns and liquor, the embalming of the dead, drums, tattoos, traditional songs, naked bathing, *pekio* (secondary husbands), and polygamy, among other things, also codified the destruction of Marquesan culture which had begun in 1774 and accelerated with the French annexation of the islands in 1842. With the destruction of the culture came the loss of most of its history.

The first European contact with the Marquesas islands occurred in 1595 when four Spanish ships, led by Alvaro de Mendaña, arrived at Fatuiva. The islanders eagerly paddled out to see the ships hove-to outside the reef. Forty men and boys came aboard the vessels, and the Spaniards, angered and frightened by the islanders' curiosity and the theft of small articles, fired on them with cannons. Eight or nine were killed. At Tahuata, the Spaniards continued killing the Marquesans. One young man was killed in the water with a child in his arms. The soldier who killed him said "with great sorrow," per Pedro Fernández de Quirós, the pilot on board who penned the extant narrative of the visit, "that the Devil had to take those who were ordained to be taken" (no. 14, 21). The violence of the Spaniards left no legacy on the islands, however, and the only enduring reminder of their visit is the name of the group. Mendaña named them Las Marquesas de Mendoza after his patron, Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis de Cañete, Viceroy of Peru. They have been known as the Marquesas ever since.

It would be 180 years before another outsider, Englishman James Cook, reached the Marquesas. He arrived on April 8, 1774, and stayed only four days at Tahuata. Despite his short stay, Cook managed to leave a trail of violence behind him. On the first day, an islander was shot and killed for stealing a stanchion. Cook's visit was recorded by the naturalists traveling with him, Johann Reinhold Forster and his son George. Their descriptions and drawings capture that moment just before Marquesan culture was changed irretreviably by contact with "Te Aoe," the Strangers.

The French first took possession of the Marquesas in 1791, when Etienne Marchand came to Tahuata. Like many of those to follow, he and his men were attracted to the women who swam out to the ship. He took one to his cabin, and later wrote that the girls were "victims of a holy debt" (quoted in Dening, 21). From Tahuata, Marchand sailed to Ua Poa, which Joseph Ingraham had earlier visited in the *Hope.* Ingraham had called at Tahuata, then sailed north, past Nukahiva, making the island of Ua Poa the first discovery for revolutionary America. Marchand's and Ingraham's journals still exist, but Marchand's is richer, deeper. Marchand wonders, among other things, how a foreign power can take possession of islands which are already possessed by their inhabitants.

Vessels continued to visit the islands. In 1798 alone, five different ships

came. As Greg Dening writes in *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774–1880* (1980), "Ships leave many traces of their comings and goings, in their logs, in the logs of ships that meet them, in their registration papers in ports. Sailors on land or sea also seem to have a pride in remembering a ship's name, where she was from and who was her master. So finding names of the ships that visited the Land [the Marquesas] and finding what, if any, documentation remained of their visits is not an impossible task" (295). What the scholar hopes to find within those documents, of course, are observations of the people, the land, and the customs of the Marquesas. Yet most ships' logs have little to say on these subjects.

Most of the early ethnohistoric information for the Marquesas comes from two men: William Pascoe Crook, a missionary who stayed for one and a half years, and Edward Robarts, a beachcomber who stayed for seven years. Crook was put ashore on Tahuata from James Wilson's missionary ship *Duff* on June 5, 1797. Ten months later, he moved on to Nukahiva aboard Edmund Fanning's *Betsy.* In January of 1799, he returned to England with a young Marquesan named Temouteitei aboard the ship *Butterworth.* In England, the scholar of the London Missionary Society, Samuel Greatheed, recorded Crook's and Temouteitei's experiences and observations in a long "Account of the Marquesas Islands." Crook also wrote an "Essay on the Marquesan Language" and a "Dictionary."

Edward Robarts deserted from Henry Glasspoole's whaleship *New Euphrates* on Christmas Day, 1798, at Tahuata. Two months later, Jean Cabri, a French sailor, deserted from Captain Gardiner's *London.* Robarts and Cabri remained hostile to each other for the five years of Cabri's stay. At the end of 1799 or the beginning of 1800, Robarts, like both Crook and Cabri before him, moved to Nukahiva. Robarts left the Marquesas in February of 1806 with his Marquesan wife Ena and their child Ellen. At the end of Robarts's long and wandering life, with two wives and all his children save one dead, he wrote out his experiences. Then living in abject poverty in Calcutta, India, he was supported in his writing by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Dr. John Caspar Leyden, and Mr. T. Hare. As Dening writes, "Without punctuation and ill-spelt, [the manuscript] was nonetheless lovingly written, the phrases sculptured carefully by a man unused to working words. His words have rescued his life. . . . They also rescued the lives of Enata [Marquesans]" (141).

Cabri's story is recorded mostly by Robarts, but also in a fourteen-page pamphlet, "A True and Accurate Account of the Residence of Joseph Kabris, native of Bordeaux, in the Islands of Mendoca [the Marquesas]" (1817). Cabri, heavily tatooed during his time in the Marquesas, ended his life traveling through France as a display at provincial fairs under the title "Kabris Le Tatoué."

In May of 1804, the *Nadeshda,* under the command of Adam J. von Krusenstern, anchored off Nukahiva. Her companion, the *Neva,* under the command of Yuri Lisiansky, joined her three days later. The Russians had come, like the French and English before them, to explore the Pacific. Although only twelve days in length, the Russian visit was significant. As Nicholas Thomas writes in *Marquesan Societies: Inequality and Political Transformation in Eastern Polynesia* (1990), "The visit of the Russians in 1804 provided several texts which are valuable because they reproduce information obtained from Edward Robarts and Joseph Kabris [Jean Cabri]; thus the brevity of the Russians' visit was more than compensated for by their use of these informants" (186). The Russian accounts contain information from Robarts that he would not include years later in his own manuscript. In addition, the drawings of W. G. Tilesius von Tilenau, the expedition's artist, are the most significant early visual representations of Marquesan warriors, domestic scenes, and structures. By accident, the Russians took Cabri off Nukahiva when he stayed too long on board one of their vessels as they were departing; he was later landed at Kamchatka on the Siberian coast.

In October of 1813, David Porter arrived at Nukahiva aboard the American warship *Essex,* which was accompanied by three British prizes captured during the War of 1812. Porter meant to careen and provision his ships in the bay of Taiohae. With over three hundred men and four ships to provision, however, the resources of the bay were soon in peril. In his attempts to gather food from other parts of the island, Porter became embroiled in the hostilities between the different island groups: Teii, Hapaa, and Taipi. Porter took possession of the Marquesas for the United States of America, but he departed the island group seven weeks after his arrival, and nothing further came of his claim. He left two legacies: the young princess, Paetini, with whom he lived during his stay, who was known ever after as Porter's woman "Quini" or "Queenie," and his *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean* (1815, 1822). Porter's *Journal* was a major source for Melville's *Typee* (1846). Robert C. Suggs writes in *The Hidden Worlds of Polynesia* (1962), "The society described by Melville is not much different from that seen by Porter in Taiohae fifty-seven years before" (53). Thus, Suggs, like Wilson Heflin, suggests that *Typee* may be based more on Melville's reading of Porter than on his own time on the island. Why Suggs calls it "fifty-seven years before" is not known: Porter was at Taiohae bay in 1813 and Melville in 1842.

Camille de Roquefeuil visited the Marquesas at the end of 1817 aboard the trading vessel *Bordelais,* and his journal provides a detailed account of the sandalwood trade. He collected 80 tons of sandalwood from Hiva Oa. The sandalwood trade was different from the earlier provisioning of ships because it required a longer stay in the islands. Nonetheless, journals from

men involved in the trade do not include much beyond details of the trade itself.

Other descriptions of Marquesan culture from before the annexation of the islands by the French in 1842 occur mostly in the reports and journals of missionaries. David Darling, of the London Missionary Society, came to Tahuata from Tahiti late in October of 1834 and stayed eleven months. He returned to the Marquesas for a brief visit in December of 1836. Darling was mainly interested in language and produced a "Tahitian-Tahuatan-English" comparative dictionary. His journals, letters, and reports are valuable sources.

In August of 1838, Abel Aubert Dupetit-Thouars visited Tahuata in the warship *Vénus* and left two Catholic priests, Louis de Gonzague Borgella and Dosithée Desvault, and a brother, Nil Laval. Within a year, this small group was reinforced by six others and extended their mission to Nukahiva and Ua Pou. The Catholic missionaries had more success than their Protestant counterparts. Dening writes: "[T]he priests had motions and gestures, like the sign of the cross, that Enata [the Marquesans] soon enjoyed mimicking. They had hymns and chants and litanies as repetitive and simple as Enata's own *uta*" (189). In 1857, the Hawaiian Mission Board sent Protestant missionaries to the Marquesas. "They came," Dening writes, "to confront Catholics and savages and were uncertain who were more dangerous" (205). The priests tended to stay longer than the Protestant missionaries and to learn the language of the people. For example, Pierre (Gérauld) Chaulet lived for 54 years in the Marquesas. His principal manuscript, "Notices géographiques, ethnographiques et religieuses sur les îles Marquises," is dated 1873. Like most of the substantial manuscripts from the Catholic missions, it post-dates 1842. Their late dates make the Catholic manuscripts of less importance to this study.

Nukahivan Populations

Nukahiva and Tahuata were the islands most often involved in European-Marquesan contact. The two men most responsible for information on the early ethnohistory of the Marquesas, William Pascoe Crook and Edward Robarts, both spent significant amounts of time on Nukahiva. Thus, written sources exist about the Taipi, Hapaa, and Teii people of Nukahiva.

The division between the Teii and the Taipi is ancient. Dening records the myth of two brothers, Teii and Taipi, who arrived in the first canoe at the Marquesas and, "divided by jealousy and pride[,] . . . marked the islands for all time with hostilities between the Teii and Taipi peoples" (14). The division between Teii and Taipi was the major one on the island of Nukahiva, but there were many other divisions. For example, there were fifteen to twenty

groupings, including Naiki, Ati toka, and Tuuho, who were allied under the general name of Teii. Six valleys open onto the southern coast of Nukahiva, and in them resided the four principal groups: (from west to east) the Taioa of Hakaui, the Teii of Taiohae, the Hapaa of Haka Puu Vae and Haka Paa, and the Taipi of Taipivai and Hoo'umi. The last four valleys open on to what the men of the supply ship *Daedalus* first called Comptroller's Bay.

If it hadn't been for David Porter's visit to Nukahiva in October of 1813, the Taipi might never have entered the historic imagination as they have. Porter came to Taiohae bay in search of provisions for three hundred men and four ships. When the Teii people were unable to meet the demand, Porter joined with them in fighting the Hapaa people, who had shouted that the Americans "were the posteriors and privates of the Taeehs [Teiis]" (Porter, II, 73). Porter's men killed five Hapaa, and the Hapaa then asked for, and were granted, peace. The Taipi, in contrast, were still slow to provide supplies, so Porter led an attack on the Taipi people—and lost. Porter attacked again, driving down the Taipi valley, killing many people, burning houses, and destroying breadfruit trees. Thereafter, Porter received his supplies. As Dening writes: "By being Porter's enemy the Taipi became a savage, treacherous, sullen group of warriors whose ferocity was a compliment to those who defeated them" (28). Melville borrowed Porter's image of the Taipi for his own book, *Typee.*

The Teii occupied Taiohae bay and were thus the first to encounter Europeans at Nukahiva. They allied with, and then broke with, the Hapaa people. Alliances on the island of Nukahiva were constantly shifting. Generally, the Taioa and the Hapaa were allied with the Teii against the Taipi, but they were as often at war amongst themselves. Hostility was constant. Even Teii and Taipi, however, would join together for feasts and dances. The flexibility of Marquesan culture was one of its most essential elements.

The social fictions of marriage, adoption, and name-exchange modified the set patterns of relationships. An infant could be married to a woman with grown children. An adopted son might be called the "first-born" and receive all the rights of a first-born over an older natural-born son. Name-exchange gave each participant the rules, rights, obligations, and position of the other.

Marriage created a network throughout the island of Nukahiva and beyond. Keatonui, the *haka'iki,* or chief, of the Teii people, is a great example. Dening writes: "Amongst the deadliest of his enemies, the Taipi, [Keatonui] had a sister married to a *haka'iki,* his mother's sister married to a *haka'iki,* his son married to a daughter of a *haka'iki,* and his grandson by that marriage, his future heir. Among the Hapaa at Muakke he had his first-born daughter married to the son of the *haka'iki* and his mother's sister to a man of rank. Among the Taioa at Hakaui, his wife was daughter of the *haka'iki,* his wife's sister was married to a *haka'iki,* his sister's son was married to a daughter of

the *haka'iki*" (83). These marriages, arranged for political reasons, often resulted in great disparity between the ages of the bride and groom. A woman could have one or more *pekio,* or secondary husbands, who acted as servants as well as conjugal partners. Whatever the disparity, whatever the number of *pekio,* all children born to the wife were considered children of the husband.

Dening writes: "Who the first-born was was a matter of perception as much as a matter of record. Enata [Marquesans] exchanged their children as other men might gifts. For an infant to remain with its natural mother was the exception, not the rule" (68). The first-born of Teinae, *haka'iki* at Vaitahu, Tahuata, is an example of this. Teinae had dismissed his first wife after having three children by her. His second wife, after giving Teinae a daughter, either killed herself or was killed by him for breaking a *tapu.* His third wife, a sister to his second, gave him a son. None of these children were his heir. Paiteitei, Teinae's heir, was one of a pair of twins born to a couple in the next valley to the west. Another son of this couple was married to a daughter of a sister of Teinae.

Name-exchange was another framework by which one could attain rights. The missionary William Pascoe Crook exchanged names with Pakouteie, the first-born son of the *haka'iki,* as soon as he arrived on Nukahiva. This granted him many rights amongst the people.

Relations among the various groups of Nukahiva were thus far more complex than Melville's simple division between the gentle Hapaa and the savage, cannibalistic Taipi. In fact, all the people of the Marquesas were cannibals (Dening, 247–49, 277–78). Violence was integral to their culture. The greatest violence that the Marquesans did to individuals was "fishing for men." Dening reports that the best figures which exist suggest that "perhaps fifty to a hundred *heana* [victims] were taken throughout all the islands each year between 1798 and 1842" (248). When a person of high rank died, the Marquesans would go fishing for *heana.* Edward Robarts later described the process in his manuscript. *Heana* usually came from the group's enemies and most often from the poor, the servants, those living on the margins. In the earlier period, *heana* were invested with some dignity and prestige. Only later were torture and humiliation used. Contrary to the fears of non-Marquesans, Melville included, the Marquesans rarely ate non-islanders. Europeans were not fished for as *heana.*

Annexation by the French

In May of 1842, France occupied the Marquesas when Abel Aubert Dupetit-Thouars, rear-admiral aboard the French warship *La Reine Blanche,* came ashore on Tahuata and read a proclamation that he had taken possession of

the islands in the name of France. Dupetit-Thouars then sailed to Nukahiva, which he reached on May 30, 1842. He had seventeen hundred sailors and four hundred soldiers as well as two frigates, three corvettes, and two brigs. Dupetit-Thouars expected to center France's Pacific empire in the bay of Taiohae. His strategy, however, did not work. Most of the China trade from France went via the Cape of Good Hope and that trade which went around Cape Horn sailed along the South American coast. French whalers needed no station in the central Pacific, since they concentrated on whaling in colder waters. The Marquesas were too difficult to supply and too far from the South American coast to be an effective naval base.

Yet it was the French annexation of the Marquesas which led ultimately to the disappearance of its culture. Mostly the loss of culture came from death. Smallpox, dysentery, and veneral disease all led to the death of the people. *Haka'iki* died, as did their heirs. The Marquesan priests died. Poor people died. With so few left, rituals could not be carried out. Societal structure was lost. Finally, the people turned upon themselves, with debauchery and murder, in an attempt to understand and reconcile their loss.

Melville arrived at Nukahiva on June 23, 1842, aboard the American whaleship *Acushnet.* In Chapter 2 of *Typee,* he describes the beauty of Taiohae bay, but then deplores the presence of the French: "No description can do justice to its beauty; but that beauty was lost to me then, and I saw nothing but the tri-colored flag of France trailing over the stern of six vessels, whose black hulls and bristling broadsides proclaimed their warlike character. . . . The whole group of islands had just been taken possession of by Rear Admiral Du Petit Thouars, in the name of the invincible French nation" (12). Melville would later see *La Reine Blanche* in Papeete, Tahiti, when he was aboard the Australian whaleship *Lucy Ann.* Despite his arrival at Nukahiva three weeks after annexation, Melville observed the land and its people just before the catastrophic change wrought by the French. His view of Marquesan culture is very important: it is of a people on the cusp of change. Of course, the image Melville presents in *Typee* is also greatly shaped by his reading of David Porter's *Journal* (1815, 1822) and of Charles S. Stewart's *A Visit to the South Seas* (1831).

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APPENDIX III

Oil from Whales

DAVID LITTLEFIELD WITH EDWARD BAKER

Whales are warm-blooded mammals and as such must have a large layer of insulating blubber to protect them from the cold environment in which they live. For centuries, humans have rendered the blubber of whales to obtain the oil, especially when this blubber could be easily obtained from stranded whales or dead whales washed up on shore.

As the Industrial Revolution progressed through the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, there was an ever-expanding market for oil both for the lubrication of machinery, which became progressively complex and sophisticated through this period, and for illumination, to light city streets, factories, coastal lighthouses, and the homes of people increasingly involved in a consumer society. This expanding market fostered the growth of an industry to hunt whales in the ocean, and then, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a search for substitutes to the ever more expensive oil from whales.

Whale oil was extracted from baleen whales and any other marine mammal easily hunted, such as sea elephants, seals, sea lions, and walruses. *Sperm oil* was the oil extracted from sperm whales. Whale oil, like any other animal fat, is a triglyceride, but sperm oil is a complex hydrocarbon classified as liquid wax. This quality made sperm oil most desirable for lubricating machinery, especially light machinery such as cotton-spinning spindles. The fact that the finest-quality wax could be separated from sperm oil created one of the earliest manufacturers in America: candle-makers.

Primarily three products from the oil of whales were marketed in nineteenth-century commerce: whale oil, sperm oil, and spermaceti, the name for the wax from sperm oil. Whale oil could be purchased refined or crude. Refined whale oil, which stank and smoked like other animal fats, could be used in lower-quality oil lamps. Crude whale oil was used for processing leather and cordage and in the manufacture of paints. Generally, fifty percent of the total of whale oil was used in its crude, or unrefined, form.

In contrast, sperm oil was sold in a crude state only to refineries. Although

this varied depending on the time period, sperm oil was generally marketed in a refined state, because of its value and also because the extraction of the spermaceti, or wax, required some processing. Most sperm oil on the market was refined and bleached and came from the first pressing of the oil which was done after chilling the crude oil to below freezing. This "winter-pressed oil" was the standard: the brightest, cleanest-burning, and highest-priced. Winter-pressed oil equaled sixty-seven percent of the total product from a sperm whale after all of the refining.

In their shipboard accounts, whalemen, in contrast to merchants, described the process in which they were involved rather than the finished products of the industry. Much confusion stems from the fact that in the onboard processing of sperm whales, many whalemen refer to the entire liquid bailed out of the head as *the* spermaceti and the entire product of rendering down the blubber as sperm oil. These were generally processed together at the refinery ashore to obtain two separate products: the spermaceti, or wax, and the sperm oil.

The products of a whaling voyage were sold immediately upon arrival in home port to establish the profit of the voyage from which each crew member received a share. Most whaling captains took pains to keep their highest-value cargo separate in hopes that it would secure a higher price.

The following is an attempt at creating consensus definitions from historic sources. *Head matter* were the parts of the head of a sperm whale from which oil could be extracted. To many whalemen, *spermaceti* was the liquid that could be bailed out of the head. However, to whalemen more aware of the finished product, spermaceti was the part of the liquid that congealed after removing the liquid from the heat of the whale's body; the remaining liquid was then called *case oil.* The spermaceti and case oil were clear to milky white in color as they had not been scorched by heating in the tryworks. The remaining head matter, called *junk,* and even that part of the sperm whale's jaw called the *white horse* would be heated carefully without scorching in the tryworks to remove whatever oil these contained. All of this oil was generally barreled together and labeled "H" for head. Some captains did barrel-up the two separate products, spermaceti and case oil, as there was occasionally, depending on the time period, a market for these unrefined specialty products.

All of the blubber of a sperm whale would then be rendered out at the tryworks. This oil would generally be discolored by the rendering process to a light yellow or straw color. These oil casks would be labeled "S," for sperm, in order not to be confused with any whale oil, labeled "W," taken on the voyage. The product of the head would generally be one third of the total, the product of the body, two thirds. Sometimes the head yielded as much as one half of

the total, but this may very well have had more to do with the processing skills of the crew than with the difference between individual whales. For example, spending extra time on a very large head might limit the amount yielded by the blubber due to waste, for the longer the whale sat in the water, the more it was eaten by sharks.

Prior to processing aboard whaleships, the terms used were *head matter, blubber,* and *jaws* (for toothed whales) or *baleen.* In processing, the terms used were *spermaceti* (meaning either the whole liquid or the congealed wax) and *case oil* (the part of the liquid that does not congeal), *junk, white horse, blubber* (which was first cut into blanket pieces and later into "books" or "bible leaves" then rendered into oil), *teeth,* and *baleen.* At the wharf or whale oil refinery, *crude whale oil* and *baleen shooks* came from baleen whales and other marine mammals and *crude head oil* and *crude sperm oil* from toothed whales. The finished products were bleached and unbleached *winter-pressed sperm oil, spring-pressed sperm oil, taut-pressed sperm oil, spermaceti* (bleached white wax), bleached and unbleached *winter-pressed whale oil,* and *crude whale oil. Blackfish oil* (from blackfish, or pilot whales), *case oil* (discussed above), and *unrefined spermaceti* (a globular wax) were specialty items.

Head Matter

Some early uses of the term *head matter* and hence some of the confusion that is engendered by various uses of the same term can be seen in the following passages. George Attwater sailed as a greenhand on the 1820–23 voyage of the whaleship *Henry.* He reports: "Monday, May 21 [1821]. All this day strong gales & steady rains. At 10 AM finished the last fair of oil. It made about sixty-five Barrells of oil & head matter but it generally falls short when it is staved" (60). Roughly ten years later, William M. Davis served first as a green hand and later as a boatsteerer aboard the whaleship *Chelsea.* He defines head matter: "The works [tryworks] are started on the oil of the head, which is termed 'head matter'" (89). Twenty years later, Enoch Carter Cloud sailed as a green hand on the 1851–54 voyage of the ship *Henry Kneeland.* He records in his journal: "February 10. Thursday. Boiling. Some idea may be formed of the monstrous size of this whale when 4 bbls [barrels] of oil were got from the 'pans' (or hollow portion) of his jaw bone and 15 bbls of oil from his 'case,'—a kind of receptacle in the middle of his head in which pure clear oil forms! It is this 'head matter' (as we call it) or 'spermaceti' from which 'stearine candles' are manufactured at home. Those 25 bbls are worth about $750 alone!!" (223–24).

Elmo Paul Hohman, a Northwestern University economics professor, notes in his study, *The American Whaleman* (1928), "the spermaceti from the

head oil is quite different from that of the body oil; the former presents fine, bright, transparent scales like small particles of isinglass, while the latter is more compact, something like dough. In cooling, one exhibits a sparry, crystalline structure, the other that of clay" (335). He also states: "What remains after the several pressings, and the removal of all the oil, is called *stearine,* or *spermaceti*" (335).

Richard C. Kugler, in his monograph *The Whale Oil Trade: 1750–1775* (1980), defines head matter as "the name then [1750s] given to the mixture of oil and spermaceti taken from the whale's head, for the purpose of making candles." He continues, "The process [of making candles] required separating the two ingredients, for only spermaceti was needed for the candles. The oil obtained was a by-product, but of such superior quality that it was quickly recognized as a more satisfactory illuminant in lamps than the oil of right or humpback whales" (5).

Granville Allen Mawer's *Ahab's Trade: The Saga of South Seas Whaling,* published in 1999, provides a different set of terms during a discussion of Nantucket: "In 1785 Massachusetts, having rejected Nantucket's renewed request for neutrality, tried to match the European subsidies by granting bounties of £5 per ton for white spermaceti oil ('head matter'), £3 for brown or yellow spermaceti oil (sperm oil [body oil]) and £2 for right whale oil" (44).

Sperm Oil and Whale Oil

Sperm oil was the oil produced by trying-out or rendering the blubber of sperm whales and *whale oil* that produced by trying-out the blubber of baleen whales. Oil rendered from sea elephants, seals, sea lions, and walruses was also lumped together with whale oil and sold on the market as whale oil. Whale oil was called *train oil* by the English.

Charles Stevenson in his 1902 report to the United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries gives an overview of the uses of whale and sperm oil:

> The value of whale oils for purposes of illumination was not unknown previous to the seventeenth century, but the fishermen were unequal to the task of capturing the cetaceans, in large numbers. . . . After the invention of the Argand burner in 1784, whale oil became the principal illuminating agent, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was in general use. Not only were residences lighted with it, but also streets and municipal buildings. A large quantity of sperm oil was used in residences of the wealthy and also in lighthouses, that being the principal illuminant in the coastal lights of the United States, England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and other advanced countries up to 1832. . . . The increasing use of machinery resulted in an enhanced demand for a lubricant, which was generally furnished in the

> form of sperm oil. This resulted in very high prices; sperm oil, for instance, ranged from $1 to $2 per gallon, although the fishery increased until it was one of the most important organized industries of the world (183).

The highest price paid for sperm oil was $2.55 per gallon in 1866 (Tower, 128).

As Kugler notes, "Thereafter [after the 1750s], the two kinds of oil—sperm and whale—would be distinguished in the marketplace, each being sold as a separate commodity and priced accordingly. . . . Once established, the spread in prices created a wholly new incentive to engage in sperm whaling" (5–6).

The Bailing of the Case and the Trying-Out of the Oil

Francis Allyn Olmsted, who sailed as a green hand on the *North America* from October 1839 until June 1842, describes the process of bailing the case:

> The head of the sperm whale is the most valuable part of the animal, containing by far the richest proportion of spermaceti, although the oil made from any part of the animal yields a certain proportion. Hence, it is always desirable to raise the head upon deck, if practicable; if otherwise the "case," a cavity in the upper part of the head, is opened and bailed out, while the latter is firmly secured alongside the ship. The *case* is surrounded by a thick wall of a white, gristly substance, termed by the whalers "white horse;" the cavity is lined with a yellowish fat, and is filled with oil of a very superior quality, which, when warm, is perfectly limpid, but concretes in beautiful white masses, if allowed to become cold, or as it drips upon the water (64–65).

J. Ross Browne, who sailed as a green hand on board the *Bruce* from July 1842 until November 1843, further describes the bailing of the case:

> The head having, in the first place, been cut off and secured to the stern, is now hauled up, with the nose down, if too large to be taken on board, and hoisted as far out of the water as may be found convenient, and the oil or liquid spermaceti bailed out with a vessel attached to a long pole, and thus taken in and saved. As there is no little risk attending this mode of getting the spermaceti, and a great deal of waste, the head is always taken on board, when not too large or heavy. The "case" . . . sometimes contains from ten to fifteen barrels of oil and spermaceti (128–29).

Daniel Weston Hall, a green hand on the 1856 voyage of the ship *Condor,* continues:

> When a sperm whale has been taken and brought alongside, the head is

> first severed from the body, just forward of the eye, and hoisted on deck. The head is then opened, and what is called the "head matter" (which is the best part of the oil) is dipped out and transferred to the boilers, or try-pots. After it has been sufficiently heated, it is ready for the casks, which as soon as the oil is cold, are stored away, not to be disturbed until the arrival of the ship at home. This head oil averages from three to twenty barrels, according to the size of the whale (21–22).

Charles M. Scammon notes in *The Marine Mammals of the North-western Coast of North America* (1874): "The oil taken from the case of the Sperm Whale is sometimes put into casks without boiling; but, usually, it is carefully scalded with the junk and a portion of the hump, and when put into casks, it is known as head, or head-matter" (239). Clifford Ashley, who sailed on the 1904 whaling voyage of the barque *Sunbeam,* adds, "To empty the case the men waded right in with their buckets, bailing, cutting, and scraping until all the head matter had been cleared out" (162).

Walter Hammond, a green hand aboard the *Pedro Varela* in 1910, records: "Up it [the case oil bucket] would come brimful with oil, to be emptied directly into hogs-heads previously set at convenient points. This was continued until fifteen barrels of oil had thus been bailed out of the head. This was a special product—the spermaceti of commerce" (pp. 37–38).

William Henry Tripp, who sailed as a literary observer and photographer on the last whaling voyage out of New Bedford, the 1925 voyage of the whaling schooner *John R. Manta,* writes:

> The buckets were forced down into the sponge-like material of the case, whereupon they were immediately filled with the pure and beautifully clear white 'spermaceti.' It was quite fluid when first taken out, but rapidly congealed on exposure to the air. The spermaceti, still warm with the animal heat of the whale, was carried forward and poured into one of the try-pots. It was necessary that this spermaceti, or case oil, should pass through the pots and be heated to prevent its becoming rancid. The oil when just removed from the case is perfectly sweet, and like any other animal fat, only becomes rancid through age (208).

Additional information on the trying-out of the case oil comes from Hammond: "The tryworks kettles were nearly filled with the heavy oil-bearing case. A small amount of fresh water was added to each kettle and the fires lighted. The water soon boiled away but, in the process, the kettles became nearly half full of boiling oil. The sliced blubber was dropped into this hot oil and very quickly tried out" (39).

Lance E. Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Karin Gleither in their excellent

study, *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816–1906* (1997), further elucidate:

> The case oil could be bailed directly from the head into barrels. It was virtually pure spermaceti, and, for that reason, once it was in the open air, it began to congeal. Case, or head, oil supplied about one-third of the oil taken from a typical sperm whale, and sometimes as much as one-half.
>
> Oil was extracted in try-pots from the junk, the white horse, and the blubber. This oil also contained spermaceti. The degree of concentration varied, depending upon the part of the body from which the oil was taken, but nowhere was it as high as in the head oil. The head and blubber oils were kept separate aboard ship, but combined ashore before refining began (343).

Junk and White Horse

Thomas Beale's *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale* (1839), an important source for *Moby-Dick,* defines the term "junk": "Beneath the case and nostril, and projecting beyond the lower jaw, is a thick mass of elastic substance called the 'junk:' it is formed of a dense cellular tissue, strengthened by numerous strong tendinous fibres, and infiltrated with very fine sperm oil and spermaceti" (25–26).

Later, William M. Davis, sailing on the whaleship *Chelsea* in the 1830s, writes of both junk and white horse:

> between this [the case] and the skull-bone is the great wedge-shaped mass. . . . This is the junk. . . . The junk is first hauled in bodily, and thence aft out of the way until the case is bailed. This mass [the junk] is surrounded, as is the entire head on the outside, by the tough, almost impenetrable white horse, several inches in thickness, which proves a secure armor against the harpoon (85).

Dean C. Wright, boatsteerer on board the whaleship *Benjamin Rush* of Warren, Rhode Island, kept a commonplace book during the 1841–45 voyage. He defines junk: "And besides this [the case], the junk forms the head: this is boiled like the body, but is kept with the case and is of the same quality. Both the case and junk are guarded [by] a substance called headskin, which is very hard, and is almost impenetrable to a harpoon, and thus their head is rendered very formidable in their defence against their persuers" (5). Note that what Wright calls "headskin" is referred to by Davis as "white horse."

Ellsworth Luce West started out as a green hand but advanced to boat-

steerer within three months of sailing on the 1882–86 voyage of the *James Arnold.* He further elucidates the difference between junk and white horse:

> A sperm whale's head is divided into three sections, horizontally. The uppermost is the case which holds twenty or thirty barrels of purest oil. Beneath this is the junk, a somewhat fibrous, oily matter, below which are ligaments about a foot thick called "white horse." The lower jaw is narrow and extends nearly the length of the head with about 24 sharp, white teeth on either side that fit into sockets on the upper jaw, a bone called the "armchair" (13).

Finally, Elton W. Hall defines both junk and white horse under the term "Junk" in "A Glossary of Whaling Terms" at the end of his *Sperm Whaling from New Bedford* (1982): "The wedge-shaped lower half of the Sperm Whale's forehead, which is above the skull and white horse. It is about equally composed of white horse (meat) and oily matter, both oil and spermaceti. There is no blood in this section, which accounts for the whiteness of the meat, and consequently the name white horse" (206).

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Hall, Elton W. *Sperm Whaling from New Bedford: Clifford W. Ashley's Photographs of Bark Sunbeam in 1904.* New Bedford, Mass.: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1982. Clifford Ashley departed New Bedford on the barque *Sunbeam* on August 21, 1904, and left the ship in Brava. The vessel returned to New Bedford on July 26, 1906. Ashley served as literary observer, photographer, and sometime sailor. Ashley's photographs of his time on the *Sunbeam* were published at The Whaling Museum by the Old Dartmouth Historical Society in 1982.

Hammond, Walter. *Mutiny on the Pedro Varela: The adventures* [*sic*] *of a Twentieth Century Whaleman.* Mystic, Conn.: The Marine Historical Association, 1956. Walter Hammond sailed as a green hand on the *Pedro Varela.* The vessel departed April 27, 1910. Hammond left the ship at Fayal, Azores; the ship continued to sail until August 20, 1912. *Mutiny on the Pedro Varela* was published by The Marine Historical Association (later Mystic Seaport) in 1956.

Hohman, Elmo Paul. *The American Whaleman.* New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928. *The American Whaleman* was written by a Northwestern University assistant professor of Economics. The passages quoted above are from Appendix J, "The Manufacture of Sperm Oil and of Spermaceti." Hohman writes: "This material has been taken verbatim from a description given by Holmes, Lewis, in his volume on 'The Arctic Whaleman,' pp. 288–296. The author obtained his facts directly from a certain Charles J. Barney, foreman of Dr. Daniel Fisher's oil factory, in Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard. As a detailed account of industrial processes which have long since been forgotten, this description of the manufacturing phase of the whale fishery is not without some historical interest" (334).

Kugler, Richard C. *The Whale Oil Trade: 1750–1775.* New Bedford, Mass.: Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch Number 79, 1980.

Mawer, Granville Allen. *Ahab's Trade: The Saga of South Seas Whaling.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Olmsted, Francis Allyn. *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage.* New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1841. Francis Allyn Olmsted sailed as a green hand on the *North America* from October 1839 until June 1842.

Scammon, Charles M[elville]. *The Marine Mammals of the North-western Coast of North*

America . . . together with an Account of the American Whale-Fishery. San Francisco: John H. Carmany and Company; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1874.

Stevenson, Charles H. "Aquatic Products in Arts and Industries." George M. Bowers, Commissioner. *Report of the Commissioner for the Year ending June 30, 1902.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Tower, Walter S. *A History of the American Whale Fishery.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1907.

Tripp, William Henry. *"There Goes Flukes."* New Bedford, Mass.: Reynolds Printing, 1938. William Henry Tripp sailed as a literary observer and photographer on the May 2, 1925, through August 20, 1925, voyage of the whaling schooner *John R. Manta;* Tripp stayed with the vessel until June 10, 1925.

West, Ellsworth Luce, as told to Eleanor Ransom Mayhew. *Captain's Papers: A Log of Whaling and Other Sea Experiences.* Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing, 1965.Ellsworth Luce West started out as a green hand but became a boatsteerer within three months of sailing on the 1882–86 voyage of the *James Arnold.* He served as master of the barque *California* in 1893, of the steamer *Belvedere* in 1895, of the barque *Horatio* in 1897, and of the S.S. *Corwin* in 1900 and 1902–10.

Wright, Dean C. *Commonplace Book: Dean C. Wright, Boatsteerer.* In *Meditations from Steerage: Two Whaling Journal Fragments.* ed. Stuart Frank. Mass.: Kendall Whaling Museum, 1991.

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in references to the location of manuscript materials in the notes:

AN	Archives Nationales, Paris, France
HCL	Houghton Library, Harvard College Library
KWM	Kendall Whaling Museum: this collection has been combined with that of the NBWM; the combined libraries are housed in the Kendall Institute of the NBWM
MHS-S	Collection of Shaw Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society
MSM	Mystic Seaport Museum
NA-CS	Ships' registers in the Records of the Dept. of Commerce, National Archives
NA-MFM	The Matthew Fontaine Maury Collection of Abstract Logs of Ships in the Weather Bureau Records, Dept. of Agriculture Section, National Archives (RG27, MI160)
NA-RG15	Records of the Veterans Administration, National Archives; Pension file for Richard T. Greene, Co 1, 6th Missouri Volunteer Infantry (WC 361.042)
NA-RG36	Records of the U.S. Customs Service, National Archives
NA-RG45	Naval Records and Library, National Archives
NA-RG59	Records of the Department of State, National Archives
NA-RG84	Records of Foreign Service Posts, National Archives
NA-W	National Archives Regional Records Facility, Waltham, Massachusetts
NBFPL	New Bedford Free Public Library
NBWM	New Bedford Whaling Museum
NHA	Nantucket Historical Association
NYPL-GL	Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, New York Public Library
PEM	Peabody-Essex Museum
PPL-PN	Paul C. Nicholson Whaling Collection, Providence Public Library

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Where not otherwise noted, the biographical details of Melville's early life draw on Jay Leyda, *The Melville Log* (first published 1951), and standard biographies from the first, Raymond Weaver's *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic,* published in 1921, to the most recent, the second volume of Hershel Parker's *Herman Melville: A Biography,*

published in 2002. Especially important for this chapter is William H. Gilman, *Melville's Early Life and* Redburn (1951).

2. Maria Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, May 16, 1840, in NYPL-GL.
3. Maria Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, December 14, 1839, in NYPL-GL.
4. Maria Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, May 16, 1840, in NYPL-GL.
5. Quoted in Raymond Weaver, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (1921), 63.
6. Advertisement of Allan Melvill's business, in NYPL-GL.
7. Allan Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, September 26, 1820, in NYPL-GL.
8. Quoted in Weaver, *Herman Melville,* 64.
9. Augusta Melvill was born on August 24, 1821, and Allan on April 7, 1823.
10. Catherine was born May 21, 1825, and Frances Priscilla on August 26, 1827.
11. Quoted in Weaver, *Herman Melville,* 66.
12. Allan Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, February 23, 1828, in NYPL-GL.
13. Allan Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, February 10, 1827, March 30, 1827, in NYPL-GL.
14. There were now eight children. Thomas Melvill was born January 24, 1830.
15. Thomas Melvill, Jr., to Lemuel Shaw, January 15, 1832, in MHS-S.
16. The draft of a letter of recommendation from Peter Gansevoort to William C. Bouck, April 4, 1839, is in NYPL-GL.
17. William H. Gilman first discovered the year of Melville's sailing and the identity of the merchantman on which he sailed. See "Melville's Liverpool Trip," *Modern Language Notes* 61 (December 1946): 543–47, and especially *Melville's Early Life and* Redburn.
18. In "Register of Seamen for the District of Boston and Charlestown," in NA-RG36, Oliver P. Brown was so described on March 26, 1824: age 26; height 5 feet, 8 inches; complexion light; place of birth Stockholm, Sweden; "Naturalization."
19. Ship's register of the *St. Lawrence* in NA-CS and crew list of the *St. Lawrence* in "This Port In: Aug. 1839 to Sept. 1839" (box 111), Crew Lists, 1803–1919, New York, NY, NA-RG36 (New York).
20. Ship's register of the *St. Lawrence.*
21. Crew list of the *St. Lawrence.*
22. In crew list of the *St. Lawrence*: Robert Jackson; born New York; residence New York; age 31; 5 feet, 6 inches; complexion light; hair brown. According to a certificate attached to the crew list signed by Francis B. Ogden, American consul at Liverpool, August 6, 1839, Jackson was one of five men who deserted before the return voyage.
23. The passenger list of her return voyage is in "Completed Manifests for New York" in NA-RG36 (New York). The New York *Evening Post,* October 2, 1839, stated that the ship had two cabin passengers and thirty-two in steerage.
24. Peter Gansevoort to Lemuel Shaw, October 4, 1839, in NYPL-GL.
25. Quoted from Melville's 1870 sketch of his uncle in Gilman, *Melville's Early Life and* Redburn, 340.
26. Quoted by Jay Leyda in "Ishmael Melvill," *The Boston Public Library Quarterly* 1 (October 1949): 121.
27. Charles R. Anderson, in *Melville in the South Seas* (1939), 17–21, discusses the possible effect of Thomas Melvill's naval career upon his cousin.

28. Allan Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, February 10, 1827, in NYPL-GL.
29. Allan Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, October 6, 1829, in NYPL-GL.
30. For an account of this voyage, see Charles S. Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas, in the U.S. Ship Vincennes* (1831).
31. William Bolton Finch, "Transactions Growing out of the Visit of the U.S. ship Vincennes to the Principal Islands in the Pacific Ocean: During the Months of July, August, September, October, and November 1829," uncatalogued manuscript in U.S. Naval Academy Library.
32. Court-Martial, No. 556, in M273, 130–03, NA-RG45. Also quoted in Leyda, *Log,* April 30, 1832.
33. Crew list in NA-W.
34. Crew list in NA-W.
35. Leyda, "Ishmael Melvill," 119–34, gives a detailed account of this voyage with many quotations from a journal in PPL-PN.
36. Leyda, "Ishmael Melvill," 129–30.
37. Ibid., 134.
38. Crew lists and certificates of the *Oregon* are in NA-W.
39. Leyda, "Ishmael Melvill," 122.
40. Anderson, in *Melville in the South Seas,* 15–21, gives sketches of the careers of Guert Gansevoort, Thomas W. Melvill, and John DeWolf II.
41. Captain John D'Wolf, *A Voyage to the North Pacific and a Journey Through Siberia More Than Half a Century Ago* (1861), quoted in Wilfred Harold Munro, ed., *Tales of an Old Sea Port* (1917), 161–62. D'Wolf used the spellings "Kamtchatka" for Kamchatka and "Ochotsk" for Okhotsk.
42. Allan Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, December 31, 1828, in NYPL-GL.
43. Records of Guert Gansevoort are in M330, 130–01, NA-RG45.
44. Midshipman Thomas W. Melvill and Guert Gansevoort were both at Callao for a brief period in 1829 and dined together at least once before Thomas sailed for home in the *Vincennes.* See Allan Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, October 6, 1829, in NYPL-GL.
45. Guert Gansevoort to Peter Gansevoort, March 13, 1831, Callao, in NYPL-GL.
46. Official papers concerning the *Somers* mutiny and the court-martial of Commander Mackenzie are in NA-RG45. Many are quoted in Harrison Hayford, ed., *The Somers Mutiny Affair* (1959).
47. Allan Melvill to Peter Gansevoort, November 28, 1826, in NYPL-GL. Peter L. Gansevoort's journal for this voyage is in NA-RG45.
48. Naval records concerning Peter L. Gansevoort are in M330, 130–01, NA-RG45.
49. In July 1832 his body was returned to Albany for reburial.
50. Leonard Gansvoort's name appears on the crew list of the *Hercules* in NA-W.
51. The naval record of Hunn Gansevoort is ascertainable from manuscript records in NA-RG45.
52. For accounts of the 1835–36 voyage of the *Vincennes,* see that vessel's logbook and the interesting report of Commander John A. Aulick to the Secretary of the Navy, June 6, 1836, in Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Commanders, 1804–1806 (microfilm M147, roll 21), NA-RG45.

53. Two mutinous seamen from the Fairhaven whaleship *William Wirt,* Captain Isaac Daggett, were arrested by the first lieutenant from the *Vincennes.* After promising to behave, they were returned to the *William Wirt.* Eighty marines and musketeers from the *Vincennes* went ashore on Savie Island in the Navigator Group (Samoa), burned the village, and brought off the only surviving whaleman of two whaleboat crews from the Falmouth, Massachusetts, whaleship *William Penn* that had been attacked by islanders. At the request of Captain Macy of the *Wiscasset,* a whaleman named David Stanley was confined on the *Vincennes* after stabbing a fellow crewmember. For more information on the shipwreck and enslavement of the *Mentor*'s crew, see [Epes Sargent], *American Adventure by Land and Sea,* II (1841), 172–99, and Horace Holden, *A Narrative of the Shipwreck, Captivity and Sufferings of Horace Holden and Benj. H. Nute* (1836).
54. "Journal of Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson," in NA-RG45.
55. Alexander Claxton to the Secretary of the Navy, November 7, 1840, in Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy, 1805–61 (microfilm MI25, roll 271), NA-RG45.
56. Records of the naval career of Stanwix Gansevoort are in NA-RG45.
57. The crew list of the *Theophilus Chase,* Captain Charles Ball, in NA-W contains the following description of Thomas Melville: age 16; height 5 feet, 6 1/2 inches; complexion light; hair brown. Thomas's whaler sailed May 6, 1846, and after a most unsuccessful voyage returned May 4, 1848. Herman interrupted his writing of *Mardi* to go to Westport and see that Thomas was regularly discharged and paid.
58. Records of the 1859 voyage of the *Meteor,* commanded by Captain Thomas Melville, are in NA-RG36. See also Octavius T. Howe and Frederick C. Matthews, *American Clipper Ships 1833–1858* (1927), II, 395.
59. Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery From Its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876* (1878), 660.
60. Leyda, "Ishmael Melvill," 120.
61. Ibid.
62. Whalemen's Shipping Paper of the *Acushnet,* certified copy in NBFPL.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Certificate of Admeasurement, November 30, 1840, in New Bedford Custom House records deposited in NBFPL.
2. These measurements are taken from a scale drawing in a journal kept by Ansel Weeks, Jr. (in HCL), who sailed in the *Acushnet* on her second voyage. In a few instances the lengths of certain spars are not indicated in the drawing; a few of the measurements given here are, consequently, approximate.
3. The Master Carpenter's Certificate, signed "G Barstow & Son," and dated December 24, 1840 (in NBFPL), states: "We G. Barstow & Son of Mattapoisett do certify that the Ship named the Acushnet was built by me or under my direction at Mattapoisett during the year 1840." For a discussion of shipbuilding at Mattapoisett, see Lemuel LeBaron Holmes, "Maritime and Other Industries," in *Mattapoisett and Old Rochester, Massachusetts* (1907), 279–301.
4. The following notation in a diary kept by the Reverend Thomas Robbins in 1840 may

refer to the launching of the *Acushnet:* "Oct. 12. In the morning a fine new ship went off with fine launch." Quoted in Holmes, "Maritime and Other Industries," 297.

5. The arrival of the *Acushnet* was briefly acknowledged in the New Bedford *Daily Register* (December 5, 1840): "Port of New Bedford. Arrived. Friday, Dec 4—Ship Acushnet, (new) Mattapoisett, to Bradford & Fuller, Fairhaven."
6. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 366–67. The *Bruce,* under the command of Captain Alden, sailed for the Indian Ocean on September 10, 1840.
7. Register Oaths, no. 99, December 30, 1840, and the Master Carpenter's Certificate (both in NBFPL), as well as a mutilated ship's register (in NA-CS), list the owners. The spelling of the names varies slightly from document to document but the information given here follows most closely the ship's register. A penciled notation on the back of the Master Carpenter's Certificate indicates the following ownership shares in the *Acushnet:* Melvin O. Bradford, Marlboro Bradford, Fuller, Allen, Ward, Gifford, Thaxter, and Pease, each 1/16; George Mendall and Ellis Mendall, Jr., jointly, 1/16; Eldredge 1/16–1/32; Dexter, Akin, Davis, Chase, and Slade, each 1/32. Beside the names of Gideon Barstow and Wilson Barstow no shares are indicated. Omission of this information suggests that the remaining shares in the vessel were held by the ship builders and that they owned one fourth or slightly less than one fourth of the *Acushnet,* depending upon which share Eldredge decided to take.
8. "Seventh Census of the United States. Original Returns of the Assistant Marshals. Massachusetts," vol. 5 (June 30, 1850), 339 (microfilm M432, roll 309).
9. "Seventh Census," vol. 5, 340. Genealogy compiled by Rodolphus A. Swan (NBFPL). Also, Ellery Kirke Taylor, ed., *"Welcome Englishmen": A 330 Year History of the Bradford Family* ([1951]), D7.
10. "Seventh Census," vol. 5, 339.
11. *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts,* 1, 1796–1850 (1940), *passim.*
12. For Ellis Mendall, Jr., Lemuel S. Akin, Joseph Davis, Joseph Gifford, and Peter D. Slade, all farmers, see "Seventh Census," vol. 5, 860, 822, 422, 384, 366, respectively.
13. "Seventh Census," vol. 5, 325. Eldredge in 1850 owned real estate valued at $6,000.
14. The Barstows were the most prominent shipbuilders in Rochester and Mattapoisett during this period and owned shares in many vessels. Holmes, 285: "From this yard [Barstow's] the greatest number of Mattapoisett vessels were launched; more than 150 in all." For record of vessels owned in part or outright by the Barstows—including one named *Gideon Barstow*—see *Ship Registers of New Bedford,* vol. 1, *passim.*
15. Jonathan R. Ward was a director of the New-Bedford Port Society for the Moral Improvement of Seamen and a member of several benevolent and literary organizations. Henry H. Crapo, *The New-Bedford Directory* (1841), 31, 127.
16. Joseph Gifford was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature from 1830 to 1838 and served for ten years as town clerk of Dartmouth.
17. See indexes to *Ship Registers of New Bedford,* vol. 1.
18. Two in the official log of the second voyage, owned by Meylert M. Armstrong; two in a day book of the second voyage (PEM); one in a journal of Ansel Weeks, Jr. (HCL); and one in the logbook of the *William Thompson* (NBFPL). *Editors' note:* Meylert M. Armstrong owned the official log of the second voyage of the *Acushnet* when Wilson Heflin studied it prior to 1952, but its present location is unknown.

19. Richard Henry Dana, Jr. *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840), 69.
20. Inward Foreign Entry and Inward Foreign Manifest of the *Acushnet,* NA-W. According to the "Return of Merchandize unladen . . . from on board the Ship Acushnet," May 23, 1845, her inward cargo was 1,414 barrels of whale oil, 962 barrels of sperm oil, and 15,000 pounds of whalebone.
21. *Whalemen's Shipping List, and Merchants' Transcript* (December 23, 1851), 170. "Brig Wyandott, Bush, from Arctic Ocean, arrived at Honolulu Oct 2, bringing the Captain and crew of the ship Acushnet, Bradley, of Fairhaven, and a part of the cargo from the ship. The Acushnet was wrecked Aug 16th on St Lawrence Island. The ship was a total loss. Crew saved. The A had 1300 bbls oil, 250 of which was saved by the Wyandott."

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Charles Edward Banks, *The History of Martha's Vineyard, Dukes County, Massachusetts.* III: Family Genealogies (1925, 1966), 401, 407–8.
2. Church Records of Edgartown Deaths Kept by Parson Thaxter, in Banks, *History of Martha's Vineyard* I, 449.
3. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 366–67. Professor Marcus W. Jernegan of the University of Chicago, an Edgartown resident who compiled extensive data on Vineyard whaling, identified Henry Pease II as master of the following whalers, a number of which are listed in Starbuck with the captain "—Pease": brig *Planter,* Edgartown, 1821, 1830 (captured 1830 by Don Miguel's squadron, taken to Lisbon and condemned; see Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 281); brig *President,* Edgartown, 1825–26; ship *Hesper,* New Bedford, 1826–28; ship *Hibernia,* New Bedford, 1830–31, 1831–32, 1832–33; ship *Two Brothers,* New Bedford, 1834–35; ship *Mary,* Edgartown, 1836–39 (Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 238, 256–57, 258–59, 276–77, 282–83, 288–89, 306–07, 326–27). Henry Pease II must have been more successful in the whale fishery than his older brother, Melville's first whaling captain. He was master of a whaler at the age of nineteen and was still sailing as a captain seven years after Valentine Pease, Jr., had retired from the fishery.
4. A journal of the 1840–43 voyage of the barque *Columbus* is in PPL-PN. Tristram Daggett Pease had sailed as a whaling captain on two previous voyages in Fairhaven ships, the *Columbus* and the *Ansell Gibbs* (Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 298–99 and 316–17).
5. Clement Norton, husband of Martha Pease, "was credited with having assisted in taking, during his sea service, 30,040 barrels of oil" (Banks, *History of Martha's Vineyard* I, 450). For the whaling commands of Jared Fisher, husband of Sally Pease, see *Whaling Masters* (1938), 126.
6. Banks, *History of Martha's Vineyard* III, 407.
7. Charles Haskins Townsend, "The Distribution of Certain Whales as Shown by Logbook Records of American Whaleships," *Zoologica* 19 (April 3, 1935): 14. Captain Benjamin Morrell, Jr., *A Narrative of Four Voyages* (1832), 297–98, describes this whaling ground.
8. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 192–93, gives both 1795 and 1796 as

the sailing year of the *Alliance,* but in two separate entries gives December 15, 1796, as the date of return.

9. Banks, *History of Martha's Vineyard* III, 408. Melville's first whaling captain is generally supposed to have been born on Martha's Vineyard. Richard L. Pease, assistant marshal of the Census in 1850 and antiquarian of Martha's Vineyard, however, named Nantucket as his place of birth ("Seventh Census of the United States . . . Massachusetts," vol. 6 [June 30, 1850], 396 [microfilm M432, roll 309]).
10. "Seventh Census," vol. 6, 388.
11. Henry Beetle Hough, "Melville's Captain Was a Vineyarder," *Vineyard Gazette* (July 2, 1929).
12. Ibid.
13. Banks, *History of Martha's Vineyard* II, 207.
14. Hough, "Melville's Captain."
15. See note 3 above and *Whaling Masters,* 217.
16. *Whaling Masters,* 218. An entry for September 26, 1825, in "Abstract of the Registry of Americans in the District of Nantucket" (July 1–September 30, 1825) in Records of the Department of the Treasury, National Archives, gives the age of Tristram Pease as 16. According to Banks, *History of Martha's Vineyard* III, 408, however, he was born in 1805.
17. Banks, *History of Martha's Vineyard* I, 449, and III, 408.
18. Ship's register of the *Houqua* in NA-CS. The permanent registry of the *Houqua* is dated December 13, 1831. Owners were Alexander Gibbs, Nathan B. Gibbs, New Bedford; Valentine Pease, Jr., Edgartown; Abiel Brush and Walter Brush, New York.
19. Crew lists and attached consular certificates in NA-W.
20. Affidavit of Valentine Pease, Jr., made before John Henry Clifford on May 12, 1835. Attached to Master's Crew List in NA-W.
21. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 282–83.
22. Recruiting ports mentioned above and the track of the *Houqua* are based on entries in the ship's abstract log in NA-MFM, vol. 109.
23. For a sketch of the *Houqua* in a whaling scene during this voyage, entitled "A Shoal of Sperm Whales off the Island of Hawaii in which the Ships 'Enterprise,' 'Wm. Roach [Rotch],' 'Pocahontas' and 'Houqua' Were Engaged 10 Decr. 1833," see George Francis Dow, *Whale Ships and Whaling* (1925), 183.
24. One group is in the British Consular Papers, Tahiti, vol. 8, in the collection of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, reference number ML MSS 24/8: FM4/582. The other documents are in NA-W.
25. Certificate attached to Master's Crew List of the *Houqua,* in NA-W. Pritchard was appointed English consul in 1837.
26. British Consular Papers, Tahiti, vol. 8. It is not ascertainable to whom this letter was addressed.
27. Certificate attached to Master's Crew List of the *Houqua* in NA-W.
28. Vol. 109, NA-MFM.
29. British Consular Papers, Tahiti, vol. 8.
30. Affidavit in NA-W. "Otaheite" was a common spelling for Tahiti.

31. "Mosher" on Master's Crew List.
32. British Consular Papers, Tahiti, vol 8. According to William H. Tripp, former curator of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Whaling Museum (now NBWM), the complaints that the *Houqua* lowered only three boats were not very valid. The lowering of four boats might have meant a better chance for success in capturing whales and a shorter voyage. Responsibility for the quality of the ship's provisions might have been with the caterers for the voyage, but Captain Pease was part-owner of the ship, and as her master he governed the quantity of food given to the crew.
33. "Bartlett" on Master's Crew List.
34. "Goodridge" on Master's Crew List.
35. Boston *Courier* (May 13, 1835).
36. *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts,* 1, 150. Captain Pease evidently sold his share in the *Houqua* before he again went to sea. The next register of this vessel, dated April 10, 1837, gives Alexander Gibbs as sole owner.
37. Volume 28 of NA-MFM contains an abstract log of the "Ship Mechanic V Pease Master on a whaling voyage towards New Zeland [*sic*] and elsewhere" but does not name the sailing port of this vessel. The itinerary of this ship does not agree with that of any contemporary American vessel named *Mechanic.* Her recorded positions, however, do correspond at several points with those of the ship *Mechanic* of St. John, New Brunswick, as reported in contemporary newspapers. For example, the abstract log indicates that the *Mechanic* anchored at Bay of Islands on February 25, 1837; a Canadian vessel of that name was spoken there on that date by the New Bedford ship *Samuel Robertson,* Captain Daniel McKenzie (Boston *Daily Advertiser* [June 27, 1837]). Again the abstract log shows that the *Mechanic* was at Akaroa from April 29 to September 27, 1837, where the St. John ship *Mechanic* was reported in July 1837 (Boston *Daily Advertiser* [February 13, 1838]). The abstract log records that the *Mechanic* was cruising off Chatham Island on December 21, 1837, and the St. John ship was spoken near this island in December 1837 by the whaler *Mary Mitchell* (Boston *Daily Advertiser* [May 25, 1838]).

    Available evidence as to the position of Valentine Pease, Jr., aboard the *Mechanic* is confusing. The abstract log, transcribed in 1848 for the Navy by Captain Daniel McKenzie, who had spoken the *Mechanic* when he was in command of the *Samuel Robertson* in 1837, names Pease as captain of the ship. Furthermore, a contemporary newspaper record provides supporting evidence: "At St Jago, Cape de Verds, no date, Mechanic, Pease, of St John, NB; Mary, [Henry] Pease [II] of Edgartown"; Boston *Daily Advertiser* (October 17, 1836). On the other hand there are several indications that the captain of the *Mechanic* was named Cudlip (Boston *Daily Advertiser* [July 11, 1836; May 22, 1837; February 13, 1838]). The most important indication is a notice in the St. John *Courier* (July 28, 1838), which announced the return of the *Mechanic.* The evidence seems to favor the theory that Valentine Pease, Jr., served as first officer.
38. St. John *Courier* (May 28, 1836).
39. Ibid.
40. A. R. Goucher, collector of customs for the port of St. John, in a letter to the author dated September 22, 1947, stated that, except for an old index book that mentions the *Mechanic,* all official records of this ship have apparently been destroyed.

41. Boston *Daily Advertiser* (July 11, 1836) states that the *Mechanic* was cleared for sailing previous to July 5, 1836.
42. Boston *Daily Advertiser* (August 5 and October 17, 1836). Vol. 28, NA-MFM. *Moby-Dick,* 52:236.
43. Vol. 28, NA-MFM.
44. Boston *Daily Advertiser* (June 27, 1837; February 13, April 3, 1838).
45. St. John *Courier* (July 28, 1838).
46. Information on the scarcity of seamen is found in the St. John *Courier* (July 28, 1838).
47. Hough, "Melville's Captain." Photographs of Valentine Pease, Jr.'s two brothers, but not of Valentine Pease, Jr. himself, are in the collection of the Martha's Vineyard Historical Society
48. Banks, *History of Martha's Vineyard* III, 408.
49. *Vital Records of Edgartown, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850* (Boston, 1906), 255. Prudence Ripley Pease died May 16, 1843, of cancer, while the *Acushnet* was still at sea.
50. The Nantucket *Inquirer* (January 3, 1843) reported that the *Acushnet* returned to Nukahiva in September 1842 with her captain sick and remained there nineteen days. Captain Pease, according to the Boston *Daily Advertiser* (May 2, 1843), went ashore sick at Payta December 13, 1842, and did not sail again for nine days.
51. Hough, "Melville's Captain." Valentine Pease, Jr., married Angeline Worth Bunting, widow of a master mariner, in July 1846 (*Vital Records of Edgartown,* 166). After his retirement from whaling, he maintained a modest prosperity by bringing annually from the mainland a vessel of coal for sale to Vineyarders. He died September 8, 1870 (Obituary, *Vineyard Gazette,* September 9, 1870). The house on Water Street was for a time the summer home of Mrs. H. B. Thomas, daughter of Herman Melville, and remained in the family until the 1990s.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Certified copy of Whalemen's Shipping Paper of the *Acushnet* in NBFPL.
2. The Official Crew List is in NBWM. The Master's Crew List is in NA-W. Previous studies of the crew of the *Acushnet* have been based upon the Official Crew List only, a document that does not contain significant information found in the Master's Crew List and the Whalemen's Shipping Paper.
3. Francis Allyn Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage* (1841), 52, describes the quarters of petty officers of a whaler.
4. Thomas Johnson, Enoch Read, Joseph Luis, Henry Grant, William Maiden, James Williams, and Martin Brown all signed their names on the Whalemen's Shipping Paper with an *x.*
5. The following affidavit, signed by William H. Taylor, Deputy Collector of Customs for the District of New Bedford, on December 30, 1840, appears on the back of the Master's Crew List: "I do hereby . . . certify, That the within named persons except George W. Galvan, Joseph Lewis, John Adams, David M. White & Martin Brown who compose the company of the . . . Acushnet . . . have produced to me proof in the manner directed in the Act entitled 'An Act for the Relief and Protection of American

Seamen.' And pursuant to said Act and to the Act Supplementary to the Act concerning Consuls and Vice-Consuls, and for the further protection of American Seamen, I do hereby certify, that the said persons except as aforesaid are citizens of the United States of America."

6. Elmo P. Hohman, *The American Whaleman* (1928), 58.
7. Evidence in the official papers of the first and second voyages of the *Acushnet,* as well as in logs of the second voyage, indicates that the boatsteerer's name was Barnet or Barnett, not Barnard, as the Official Crew List of the first voyage erroneously suggests. In the Master's Crew List, "Barnard" has been written over "Barnet." Barnet's height is variously recorded in documents of the first two voyages of the *Acushnet.* Chief Officer Raymond's first name is variously spelled "Frederic" and "Frederick." Walcut's name is variously spelled "Woolcut," "Walcot," and "Walcutt" on ship's documents. Luis is "Lewis" on some of the ship's documents, including the Master's Crew List. Other names variously spelled: "Robert Murry" on notarized statement of David Silvester, dated May 13, 1845, attached to the Master's Crew List and on the Master's Crew List itself; "Elliot" on Whalemen's Shipping Paper; "Hamer," "Harmer," and "Hermer" on ship's documents.
8. (a) "What became of the ship's company of the whale-ship 'Acushnet,' according to Hubbard who came home in her (more than a four years' voyage) and who visited me at Pittsfield. in 1850" (manuscript in HCL). This document, very difficult to read, has been printed in the Northwestern-Newberry edition of *Moby-Dick,* 997–1004. Henry Fitch Hubbard visited Melville in Pittsfield on March 23, 1853. Melville in his memorandum later erroneously recorded the date as 1850. See discussion in the Northwestern–Newberry *Moby-Dick,* 1013–14, and Parker, *Herman Melville: A Biography,* 11 (2002), 150–51. (b) Melville's memoranda in Owen Chase, *Narrative of the Most Extraordinary and Distressing Shipwreck of the Whale-Ship Essex* (1821). These memoranda have been printed in the Northwestern-Newberry edition of *Moby-Dick,* 971–95.
9. Melville, in giving the name "Captain Vangs" to the master of the *Dolly,* seems to have followed a convention in many nautical narratives of naming characters for ships' appurtenances. A *vang,* according to W. H. Smyth, *The Sailor's Word-Book* (1867), 710, is a "rope leading from the end of the gaff to the rail, one on each side, so that the two form guys attached to the outer ends of the gaffs to steady them, and when the sails are not set keep them amidships." In terms of this definition, it is interesting to note that Melville named the master of the *Julia* in *Omoo* Captain Guy.
10. *Moby-Dick,* 980.
11. *Typee,* 6:34.
12. Nelson Cole Haley, *Whale Hunt* (1948), 22–23.
13. *Moby-Dick,* 980.
14. "What became of the ship's company of the whale-ship 'Acushnet,'" *Moby-Dick,* 1002–03.
15. Ibid.
16. This certificate, appended to the certified copy of the Whalemen's Shipping Paper of the *Acushnet,* reads as follows: "I hereby certify that Frederick Raymond designated

on these articles as Chief Officer, and George W. Galvan designated as third mate, have this day [been] discharged from the above named Ship 'Acushnet' by mutual consent of themselves and Valentine Pease master of said vessel, said Master having given to Raymond $150—on account of his Voyage, and to Galvan $100 on account [of] his voyage, and an order on the owners for their voyages, subject to settlement on the arrival of the vessel in the United States." *Editors' note:* This certificate was attached to the Whalemen's Shipping Paper when Wilson Heflin saw it in the 1930s or 1940s at NBFPL, but it has since been separated and is now unlocatable. An affidavit on the back of the Master's Crew List, signed by Alex Ruden, Jr., and dated Payta, December 14, 1842, reads: "I hereby certify that Frederick R. Raymond, designated on Articles of within named Ship as Chief Officer, and George W Galvan designated as Third Mate, have been this day discharged by mutual consent of themselves and Valentine Pease, master of said Ship, and on the terms set forth on said Articles."

17. "What became of the ship's company of the whale-ship 'Acushnet,'" *Moby-Dick.* 1002–03. Melville's first-born son was given the nickname "Little Barney," perhaps in memory of this boatsteerer of the *Acushnet.* See Eleanor Melville Metcalf, ed., *Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent. By Herman Melville* (1948), 95, and *Journals,* 255.
18. See crew lists of 1845–48 voyage of the *Acushnet* in NA-W and Journal of Ansel Weeks, Jr., in HCL.
19. Perhaps it was Joseph Luis who was the role model for "Jack Lewis" in *Typee.* While steering the *Dolly,* Jack tells Captain Vangs that there was no fault with his work at the helm but that the ship "knows the land is under the lee, sir, and she wont go any more to windward" (1:4).
20. "What became of the ship's company of the whale-ship 'Acushnet,'" *Moby-Dick,* 1002–03.
21. There is no reference to these men in Melville's memorandum concerning the personnel of the ship (*Moby-Dick,* 1002–03).
22. Herman Melville to Gansevoort Melville (between June 23 and July 2, 1841), cited in Gansevoort Melville to Lemuel Shaw (July 22, 1842) in MHS-S, *Correspondence,* 24–25.
23. A study of the Captain's Crew List, the Whalemen's Shipping Paper, and appended certificates to both documents shows that the following members of the original crew came home in the *Acushnet:* Captain Valentine Pease, Jr., second mate John Hall, boatsteerer Wilson Barnet, cooper J. Waren Stedman, cook William Maiden; John Adams, Joseph Luis, and Enoch Read, seamen; and Henry F. Hubbard, Carlos W. Greene, and Joseph Broadrick, green hands.
24. Deserters were David M. White, carpenter-caulker-seaman, and James Williams, ordinary seaman, at Fairhaven (Certificate of William H. Taylor, Deputy Collector of Customs, New Bedford, dated January 2, 1841); David Smith, boatsteerer, at Santa, Peru, on June 30, 1841; Herman Melville and Richard T. Greene, green hands, on July 9, 1842, and John Wright, green hand, on September 14, 1842, at Nukahiva, Marquesas Islands; Martin Brown, seaman and later boatsteerer, at Roa-Pua, Marquesas Islands, on September 22, 1842; and Henry Harmer, green hand, at Lahaina, Maui, Sandwich

Islands, on May 28, 1843 (all six listed on Certificate of John Stetson, United States Vice Commercial Agent at Lahaina, dated June 2, 1843); Ephraim Walcut, blacksmith, at St. Francisco in September, 1844 (Certificate of Henry Avey, United States consular agent at Talcahuano, Chili, dated January 30, 1845). Upon the return of the *Acushnet* several of the crew were unaccounted for by consular certificates. Before J. F. Terry, notary public at Fairhaven, Captain Pease swore on May 13, 1845, that George Eliot and Robert Mury ("George Elliot" and "Robert Murry" on the affidavit) "deserted on the voyage." Discharged from the *Acushnet* during the voyage were: Frederick Raymond, first officer, and George W. Galvan, third mate, at Payta, Peru, on December 14, 1842 (see note 16 above); Thomas Johnson, seaman, at Lahaina, on June 2, 1843 (Certificate of discharge signed by John Stetson); and Henry Grant, green hand, at Oahu on March 27, 1844 (Certificate of William Hooper, Acting United States Consular Agent at Oahu).

25. "What became of the ship's company of the whale-ship 'Acushnet,'" *Moby-Dick,* 1002–03.

26. Alexander Barron was shipped in New Bedford on January 1, 1841 (see Whalemen's Shipping Paper in NBFPL and Master's Crew List in NA-W). The three additional men were Jim Rosman, John Backus, and a sailor named Hayner or Haynor. There is nothing in the official records of the ship to indicate when or where these men signed on. The connection of Rosman and Backus with the ship's company is documented by consular certificates stating that they deserted from the ship. Hayner (or Haynor) is mentioned in none of the records of the ship; Melville's memorandum concerning the crew (*Moby-Dick,* 1002–03) and a letter from Richard T. Greene to Melville, June 18, 1856 (in HCL; *Correspondence,* 645–46) constitute the only evidence for his belonging to the crew.

27. Certificate of Consular Agent Henry Avey, dated January 29, 1845, attached to Whalemen's Shipping Paper. *Editors' note:* This certificate has been separated from the Whalemen's Shipping Paper since Wilson Heflin saw it in the 1930s or 1940s at NBFPL and is now unlocatable.

28. During her second voyage (1845–48) the *Acushnet* left Fairhaven with a ship's company of twenty-seven. Twelve of these men returned at the end of the voyage. Twenty-three additional men were shipped, thirteen deserted, and seven were discharged. Although the turnover in personnel during her maiden voyage was considerable, it by no means achieved record proportions. See Hohman, *The American Whaleman,* 62–64, for an account of whalers in which there were unusually large numbers of men shipped or a high record of attrition by desertions. See also "Desertion" in Briton Cooper Busch, *"Whaling Will Never Do for Me": The American Whaleman in the Nineteenth Century* (1994), 87–104.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Certified copy of Whalemen's Shipping Paper of the *Acushnet* (in NBFPL), signed by William H. Taylor, Deputy Collector of Customs, District of New Bedford, December 30, 1840. Italics indicate information written in ink on the blank spaces of the paper.

2. *Typee,* 2:14–15.
3. Frederic W. Sawyer, *The Merchant's and Shipmaster's Guide, in Relation to Their Rights, Duties and Liabilities* (1840), 162–63.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. The whaling song quoted here is from Joanna C. Colcord, *Songs of American Sailormen* (1938), 191–92. The song quoted at the beginning of Chapter 7 is from Colcord, 192; Chapter 9, 178; Chapter 14, 192; and Chapter 19, 192. The source of the song quoted at the beginning of Chapter 8 is unknown by the present editors.
2. *Moby-Dick,* 20:95.
3. Outward Foreign Manifest of the *Acushnet,* dated January 2, 1840 [1841], in NBFPL.
4. "Statement of some of the principal articles used in fitting one of two hundred and forty-two ships employed in the sperm whale fishery from the United States" in Joseph Grinnell, "Speech on the Tariff, with Statistical Tables of the Whale Fishery" (1844) in MSM. This speech was reported in the *Congressional Globe,* 28th Congress, 1st Session, 13, 570. Prices quoted for 1844, which may not have prevailed three years earlier, are not indicated in the summary given here.
5. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* December 1, 2, 7, 14, 16, 19, 21, 26, 1840; January 12, 1841; New Bedford *Daily Register,* January 4, 1841.
6. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* December 9, 1840.
7. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* December 12, 1840; New Bedford *Daily Register,* December 11, 1840.
8. New Bedford *Daily Register,* December 12, 1840.
9. Sailing dates were *Young Phenix* December 11, *Herald, Erie,* and *Cherokee* December 14, *Mount Vernon* December 17, *Eagle* December 18, *Moss* December 23. From Boston *Daily Advertiser,* December 14, 16, 19, 21, 26, 1840.
10. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* December 25, 1840.
11. Ibid., December 26, 1840.
12. *Moby-Dick,* 13:58.
13. *Ibid.,* 2:8.
14. This document, dated December 26, 1840, and signed by Herman Melville and William H. Taylor, Deputy Collector of Customs at New Bedford, is in NBFPL. Note that here Melville's height is given as 5 feet 9 1/2 inches but on the *St. Lawrence* crew list it is given as 5 feet 8 1/2 inches. His complexion is here given as dark but on the *St. Lawrence* crew list as light.
15. New Bedford *Daily Register,* December 28, 1840.
16. See certificate attached to Master's Crew List of the *Charles* in NA-W. Captain Barzillai Morselander, who had left New Bedford in the *Charles,* was badly injured when a cask of oil fell on his leg on August 21, 1839. He was put ashore in Payta, Peru, and Richard Gardner, the first officer, took command on August 29, 1839, more than a year before the vessel's return.
17. Logbook of the *Charles,* Captain Richard Gardner, in NBFPL.
18. Richard T. Greene, "Typee. Toby's Own Story," *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser,* July 11, 1846.

19. Zephaniah W. Pease, "Historical Address," *One Hundredth Anniversary of the New Bedford Port Society* (1930).
20. *The Sailor's Magazine* 13 (December 1840): 105–12. The title of this sermon was "The Guilty Person Discovered. Jonah i. 7. *And the lot fell upon Jonah.*" Other sermons in this series on Jonah had appeared in vol. 12, pages 73–80, 105–12, 137–44, 169–75, 201–8, 233–39, and in vol. 13, pages 41–48, and 73–80.
21. Melville's portrait of Father Mapple is supposed to have been drawn from recollections of Father Mudge and Father Edward Taylor of Boston. See Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 26–29, and elsewhere.
22. On December 30, 1840, the first three lines of the Whalemen's Shipping Paper, reserved for the signatures of the master, first officer, and second officer, had not yet been filled out. This may have been a customary procedure and probably does not warrant assuming that, like Captain Ahab, the master of the *Acushnet* was dramatically absent during the fitting-out of his ship.
23. "Bond for Seamen," No. 135, in the New Bedford Custom House.
24. Whalemen's Shipping Paper of the *Acushnet* in NBFPL.
25. This information is not recorded on the Official Crew List of the *Acushnet.* As a consequence, it has been generally assumed that the ship's company totaled twenty-seven men, Barron's name appearing as an addition to the list.
26. Allen had served as harbor pilot for a number of years. See Chapter 2 and *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts,* 1, *passim.*
27. *New-Bedford and Fairhaven Signal Book 1845* (1845), 65.
28. New Bedford *Daily Register,* January 4, 1841; Boston *Daily Advertiser,* January 5, 1841.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. The following books—a number of which Melville consulted during the period of his composition of *Moby-Dick*—give good accounts of the routine of duty aboard an outward-bound whaler and of the business of whaling: Clifford W. Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler* (1926); Thomas Beale, *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale* (1839); Frederick D. Bennett, *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe* (1840); J. Ross Browne, *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise* (1846); Henry T. Cheever, *The Whale and His Captors* (1849); Albert Cook Church, *Whale Ships and Whaling* (1938); William M. Davis, *Nimrod of the Sea* (1874); Foster Rhea Dulles, *Lowered Boats* (1933); Gordon Grant, *Greasy Luck* (1932); Nelson Cole Haley, *Whale Hunt* (1948); Charles Boardman Hawes, *Whaling* (1924); Elmo Paul Hohman, *The American Whaleman* (1928); Francis A. Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage* (1841); and William H. Tripp, *"There Goes Flukes"* (1938).
2. According to Clifford W. Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler* (1926), 61, a 300-ton whaler required about five men to work ship when the boats were on a whale hunt. The burthen of the *Acushnet* was 358 71/95 tons.
3. Charles Nordhoff, *Whaling and Fishing* (1855), writes, "There were numberless little beckets and cleats to be nailed and fastened in numberless little out of the way nooks

and crevices about the bow and stern. There were thole-pins and thole-pin mats to fit. There was a boat-spade, a boat-hatchet, and boat-compass, and water-breaker, and boat-sail, and divers nameless little necessaries to provide and fit.

To see all these articles lying together upon deck, before they were placed in the new boat, one would scarcely have believed that one little whale boat would contain them, and her crew of six full-sized men into the bargain" (112–13).

4. Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler,* 64.
5. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 392–93.
6. Ishmael in *Moby-Dick* pulled the bow oar of First Mate Starbuck's whaleboat, holding a responsible post, one that would hardly have been assigned to a hand as green as Melville was during the early part of the *Acushnet*'s voyage. See *Moby-Dick,* 72:320.
7. Henry A. Murray, ed., *Pierre* (1949), 495.
8. A search of records of such Atlantic ports reveals no mention of the *Acushnet.* The statement of Consul F. Gardiner, in his report of July 1, 1841, in "Consular Return of American Vessels," St. Jago, Cape de Verdes, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Santiago, Cape Verde Is. 1818–98 (microfilm T434, roll 2), NA-RG59, "4 Ships. 2 Barques & one Brig, transacted business on Shore without Anchor," might possibly have relevance to the route of the *Acushnet.* According to the "Consular Return of American Vessels," July 1, 1841, in NA-RG59, the *George,* which left Fairhaven on the same day as the *Acushnet,* arrived in St. Jago, Cape de Verdes, on February 8 and sailed on February 11, 1841. See also the log of the *Cyane* in NA-RG45.
9. Explaining the advantages of utilizing prevailing winds, Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury wrote: "During the last year (1851) the average passage to Rio of the ships that have used the [United States Navy's wind and current] charts, has been about 35 days, showing a clear gain upon the old route of nearly three weeks." See M. F. Maury, *Explanations and Sailing Directions to Accompany the Wind and Current Charts,* 4th ed. (1852), 338.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. "Etchings of a Whaling Cruise," Melville's review of J. Ross Browne, in *Piazza Tales,* 209.
2. "The Whale is harpooned to be sure; but bethink you, how you would manage a powerful unbroken colt, with the mere appliance of a rope tied to the root of his tail" (*Ribs and Trucks,* quoted in *Moby-Dick,* xxviii).
3. See *Moby-Dick,* 64:292, Melville's note.
4. Although Melville speaks of a whale being tied "by the head to the stern, and by the tail to the bows" (*Moby-Dick,* 64:292), many contemporary whalers moored their prizes at the tail only. The head and body of a captured whale were kept alongside by the forward motion of the ship, which made gentle headway under easy sail.
5. Stubb's boast in *Moby-Dick,* 70:310, that he could behead a sperm whale in ten minutes is hyperbolical. The operation required an hour to an hour and a half of labor. See Reuben Delano, *Wanderings and Adventures of Reuben Delano* (1846), 27.
6. For a discussion of these terms, see Appendix III: Oil from Whales.

7. Ashley, in *The Yankee Whaler,* writes: "It is said that on occasion the weight of a 'case' has been known to cause the foot of a mast to crush through a vessel's backbone, so scuttling her" (14).
8. *Moby-Dick,* 94:415–16.
9. William M. Davis, *Nimrod of the Sea* (1874), 86.
10. At sea, men generally stood four-hour watches, but when trying-out a whale, watches were lengthened to six hours.
11. For a discussion of head matter, see Appendix III: Oil from Whales.
12. Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler,* 132.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. "Consular Return of American Vessels arriving at and departing from Rio de Janeiro from the 1st January to the 30th June inclusive 1841," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Rio de Janeiro, 1811–1906 (microfilm T172, roll 7), NA-RG59.
2. The nine vessels in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro when the *Acushnet* arrived on March 13, 1841, were the barque *Brothers* of Boston (February 23–March 24), the brig *Saldana* of Baltimore (February 23–March 20), the brig *Archibald Gracie* of Norfolk (February 25–March 20), the ship *John S. Gossler* of Philadelphia (February 27–March 20), the brig *Tweed* of Baltimore (March 2–27), the ship *Marion* of New York (March 9–16), the brig *General Marion* of New York (March 10–31), the brig *Himmaleh* of New York (March 10–April 15), and the whaling brig *Henry* of Stonington (March 8–24). The schooner *Leven Jones* of New Orleans arrived on the same day as the *Acushnet* (March 13) with a load of codfish worth $4,500. The *John S. Gossler* was heading for Valparaiso, the *Marion* for Sumatra, and the *Himmaleh* for the coast of Africa; all others were loading cargoes to be sold in the United States. "Consular Return," Rio de Janeiro, January-June 1841, NA-RG59. See also Nantucket *Inquirer* (May 8, 1841).
3. Trans-shipment of the *Acushnet*'s oil in the *Tweed* is mentioned in the New Bedford *Mercury* (May 28, 1841): "The brig Tweed, arr at Baltimore, 20th, fm Rio Janeiro, has 150 bbls sp oil from ship Acushnet, of Fairhaven."
4. "Consular Statement of Fees Received at Rio de Janeiro from 1st Jany to 30th June inclusive, 1841," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Rio de Janeiro, 1811–1906 (microfilm T172, roll 7), NA-RG59.
5. Writing to Vice–Commercial Agent William Hooper at Honolulu on April 8, 1843, L. W. Perkins stated "In behalf of the crew": "We have not bound ourselves to continue or remain in the ship, until 4250 Bbls are obtained. We bound ourselves, to perform the voyage, which we should have <done> been ready to have done, had not the Capt taken it upon himself to ship our property on board of an other ship." "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" (box 30) in Consular Posts, Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84.
6. Crapo, *New-Bedford Directory* (1841), 166. In May 1841 sperm oil sold at two prices, 80 cents and 82 1/2 cents the gallon.
7. "Consular Return," Rio de Janeiro, January-June 1841, NA-RG59.
8. The *Acushnet*'s noon position on Monday, March 22, 1841, was 30°57' S/46°02' W. Beginning with this date there is a Matthew Fontaine Maury abstract log of the voyage in Records of the United States Weather Bureau in the National Archives.

From this important document, the basis of many statements in the following pages, it is possible to tell with precision where Melville was during the next fifteen months that he served aboard the *Acushnet.* From it may be ascertained the average daily track and distance made good by the ship, winds and weather, land sighted, anchorages, days when whales were seen, and other information.

9. In Melville's time the nautical day ran from noon to noon and was, for purposes of entry in logbooks, divided into three parts: first part (noon to 8 PM), middle part (8 PM to 4 AM), and latter part (4 AM to noon).
10. Ordinarily, in other waters, such a low pressure area would have been an almost certain warning of winds and weather of hurricane intensity, but near the Horn, as Captain Pease probably knew, the behavior of the barometer is anomalous. As one old salt observed, "Everybody as knows anythin' about it, knows that up with the latitude of Cape Horn a barometer ain't of no 'arthly use as a guide to the weather. It will go up very high durin' the hardest of the sou'-west gales, and you will have sometimes very fine weather with the barometer very low" (Captain R[oland] F[olger] Coffin, *An Old Sailor's Yarns* [1884], 101).
11. M[atthew]. F[ontaine]. Maury, *Explanations and Sailing Directions to Accompany the Wind and Current Charts,* 8th ed., vol. 2 (1859), 459.
12. Entry for April 15, 1841, abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM.
13. It is quite possible that the *Acushnet* passed in these waters the homeward-bound whaler *Huntress* on either April 16 or 17. A comparative plot of the tracks of the two ships (based on their abstract logs, NA-MFM, vols. 15, 28) shows that between the noons of April 16 and 17 their tracks were almost parallel and no more than five miles apart. Their possible meeting is of significance because Melville mentions the *Huntress* in *Redburn* as the vessel in which Harry Bolton perished.
14. Perhaps Captain Pease was one of many whaling masters who felt that March and April were the best months for rounding the Horn. These months, it was believed, were less often attended by the baffling head-winds that in other seasons often prolonged a passage ("Report of J. N. Reynolds on the Pacific Ocean and Its Islands and Coasts," entry 183, NA-RG45).
15. Octavius T. Howe and Frederick C. Matthews, *American Clipper Ships* 1833–1858, vol. 2 (1927), 395. Matthew Fontaine Maury in the seventh edition of *Explanations and Sailing Directions* (1855), 617–22, records in tabular columns the "Cape Horn Crossings" of 225 vessels, including a good many clipper ships. The average time of passage of these vessels from 50° South to 50° South was 18.2 days, as compared with the 14 days required for this run by the *Acushnet.* The best run, made by two vessels, was seven days. Average time of fifteen ships in April was 16.4 days; best time in April, eleven days.
16. "Journal of Edward Smith," entries for August 30–October 5, 1840 (in PPL-PN).
17. R[ichard]. H[enry]. Dana, Jr., *The Seaman's Friend,* 6th ed. (1851; Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1979), 166. *The Seaman's Friend* was originally published in 1841. Gilman, *Melville's Early Life and* Redburn, 132, bases his account of the duties of a "boy" upon that in Dana.
18. *Autobiography of Captain James H. Woodhouse* (1897), 28.

19. *Moby-Dick,* 100:436–42.
20. It cleared from London on June 16, 1840 (letter to author from F. D. Lawrence, Shipping Editor, Lloyd's of London). Master's name from *The Sailor's Magazine, and Naval Journal,* 15 (August 1843), 375. The New York *Herald,* March 20, 1841, reported that the *Samuel Enderby* was spoken by the *John Wells* in December 1840 in latitude 44°06' South, longitude 76°50' West, six months out, with 200 barrels of sperm oil. The *Samuel Enderby* was then spoken by the Nantucket whaler *Statira,* Captain Barzillai Folger, four times between January 31 and April 13, 1841. On April 13 the *Statira* spoke the *Samuel Enderby* not far from Mas Afuera "360 bbls 9 mths out" (logbook of the *Statira,* entries for January 31, February 3, 15, and April 13, 1841, in PPL-PN).
21. All efforts to locate a logbook or journal of the 1840–43 voyage of the *Samuel Enderby* have been without success. No such document is among the Enderby Records in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, or in those of the Royal Geographical Society in London. Letters from the Whaling Museum, Hull, England; the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; the Science Museum, South Kensington, London; Lloyd's of London; and the British Museum suggest that such a record of the voyage may no longer be extant. According to A. P. B. Naish, assistant director of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, the *Samuel Enderby* was built at Cowes in 1834 for the South Sea Whale Fishery and sailed on her first voyage in October 1834. There is an unrigged scale model of this craft, constructed in 1835, in the National Maritime Museum. A lithograph after a painting done in 1834 is reproduced in Dow, *Whale Ships and Whaling,* 305.
22. Gale Huntington, *Songs the Whalemen Sang* (1964), 2–7, argues that "The Coast of Peru" dates from the last quarter of the eighteenth century when whaling in the Pacific was new. Colcord, *Songs of American Sailormen,* agrees, stating, "the song goes back to the early days of offshore whaling" (194). The song is also included in Frederick Pease Harlow's *Chanteying Aboard American Ships* (posthumously published in 1962), 222–23. Since the song was transmitted orally before being transcribed, the three versions are different. This version is that of Colcord. In the log of the *James Maury* (in KWM), the entry for Sunday, October 10, 1841, reads: "For our captain has told us + I hope it is true / That there is plenty of sperm whales on the Coast of Peru." The song was so well-known by 1841 that its words are recorded without comment.
23. The noon position of the *Acushnet* on May 6, 1841, was some 98 miles below the island, and the ship moved toward it during the next twenty-four hours. An object the height of Los Innocentes could be seen from a distance of 92 miles. See "Distance of Visibility of Objects at Sea," *American Practical Navigator,* Hydrographic Office Publications, No. 9 (1939), II, 130.
24. This information is ascertainable from a plotting of the track of the *Acushnet.*
25. Buildings of the penal colony were still visible to ships at sea well into the twentieth century. See *Sailing Directions for South America,* Defense Mapping Agency, Hydrographic Center Publication 25, vol. 3 (1960), 86.
26. The frigate *United States,* in which Melville later served as an ordinary seaman, passed near the island on November 19, 1843 (logbook of the *United States* in NA-RG45; reprinted in Charles Roberts Anderson, ed., *Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean,*

1842–1844, in the Frigate United States [1937], 62). It is possible that Melville also saw the island while serving in the *Charles and Henry,* his third whaler.

27. Logbook of the *Vincennes,* October 3, 1835, in NA-RG45.
28. According to Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 346–47, it sailed from Fairhaven June 23, 1838.
29. Logbook of the *William Wirt* (Baker Library, Harvard), May 8, 1841. See Leyda, *Log,* May 7, 1841. Unless the *Acushnet* captured several whales on April 3, which seems doubtful, Captain Pease's report of 160 barrels represented the total take in sperm oil up to this time, not the quantity on board, and included the 150 barrels sent home aboard the brig *Tweed.*
30. See *Moby-Dick,* 61:282. Master Commandant Thomas ap Catesby Jones, in "Report Of the Peacock's Cruise to the Sandwich, Society and other Islands in the Pacific Ocean performed in the years 1826 and 27" (No. 2, "An inquiry," entry 25, NA-RG45), referred to "the inshore grounds, as they term it, that is between the Latitude of 37° North and South, and from within 20 to 75 leagues from the Land." Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition,* vol. 5 (1844), 517, called it the "On-Shore Ground." Some whalemen divided the area into several grounds: the Coast of Chile Ground, the Archer Ground, the Callao Ground. See charts accompanying Charles H. Townsend's "The Distribution of Certain Whales as Shown by Logbook Records of American Whaleships," *Zoologica* 19 (April 3, 1935).
31. The quantity of oil taken as the voyage progressed, however, may be determined from logbooks and journals of vessels spoken by the *Acushnet* and from reports in marine columns of contemporary newspapers.
32. A day's run is determined by drawing upon a chart a line connecting two noon positions of a ship. The direction of this line represents the average track during twenty-four hours and its length represents in nautical miles the average distance made good. It does not, however, indicate every tack or change of course made by the ship during the twenty-four-hour period. Logbooks of whalers rarely contain more than one daily check upon longitude and latitude. Although they usually include each change of course and the time of alteration, they seldom give the hourly speed of the vessel.
33. Logbook of the *LaFayette* (in NBFPL), entry for May 21, 1841.
34. *The Coasts of Chile, Bolivia, and Perú.* Hydrographic Office Publications, No. 59 (Washington, 1876), 330.
35. Ibid., 332. This bay was discovered accidentally by two vessels with troops for Pisco that entered it by mistake and were wrecked.
36. These were the navigational techniques (as a study of many logbooks reveals) most frequently employed by whalemen. When the sun was visible near noon, it was observed with a quadrant until its maximum elevation above the horizon was determined. The time was then local apparent noon. The navigator made a few corrections to his quadrant reading, applied algebraically to it the declination of the sun (its latitude or celestial position north or south of the celestial equator, as indicated in a nautical almanac), and subtracted the resulting figure from 90°. The remainder was the latitude of the ship. (For a description of Captain Ahab's taking and working noon sights, see *Moby-Dick,* 34:149; 118:500–01.) To determine the longitude most whaling masters carried a chronometer that kept Greenwich time. When local apparent noon

was observed, the ship's clock was set and then compared with the chronometer. The difference between local time and Greenwich time gave the longitude. Time difference was converted to arc (or degrees, minutes, and seconds) of longitude simply by multiplying the hours, minutes, and seconds of time by fifteen. Sometimes the accuracy of the chronometer was checked by a lunar observation in which the distance between the moon and another celestial body was measured and compared with that distance at that time at Greenwich, as given in a nautical almanac. Determining the ship's position by "dead-reckoning" consisted in estimating the distance made good in twenty-four hours (by use of log and line or by guess) and in estimating the average track (by keeping a record of changes of course and using a traverse table in a navigational text or again by guess). After smashing his quadrant, Ahab depended upon "dead-reckoning," using his compass and log line (*Moby-Dick,* 118:501).

37. The *Acushnet* was again spoken on July 4, 1841, by the *William Wirt* and on that date reported that 350 barrels of sperm oil had been taken. Since no whales were sighted between June 11 and July 4, the amount of oil on board had not changed during this period. It will be recalled that just before entering the In-Shore Ground, the *Acushnet* had reported, on May 7, the capture of 160 barrels of sperm oil.

38. According to Crapo, *New-Bedford Directory* (1841), 166, the price of sperm oil was $1.05 per gallon in January 1841. Since a barrel of whale oil contained 31 1/2 gallons, Melville's share was 63 gallons. In June 1841 sperm oil had an average value of 81 cents a gallon.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. Entry for June 23, 1841, abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM.
2. Whether Captain Pease knew it or not, entry into any of the minor ports of Peru such as Santa by a vessel coming from a foreign country had been forbidden by a Peruvian *Reglamento* of Commerce, effective February 1, 1841. Captains of ships violating this regulation were liable to a fine of $1,000, and, in some cases, to confiscation of their vessels. A revenue craft had been fitted at Callao to enforce an exact observance of commercial laws. See letter of Alex Ruden, Jr., to John Forsyth, January 1, 1841, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Paita, Peru, 1833–74 (microfilm T600, roll 1), NA-RG59. However this may have been, the stay of the *Acushnet* at Santa, whether in ignorance or knowing defiance of the law, seems to have been without incident.
3. "Private Journal of Humphrey W. Seabury," NBWM. The famous *Charles W. Morgan* visited Santa while Melville was a whaleman (February 19–22, 1843). See her abstract log, vol. 135, NA-MFM. See aslo W. B. Stevenson, *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America,* II (1825), III.
4. Benjamin Morrell, Jr., *A Narrative of Four Voyages* (1832), 186.
5. *The Coasts of Chile, Bolivia, and Perú,* 380.
6. Morrell, *A Narrative of Four Voyages,* 186.
7. [W. S. W. Ruschenberger], *Three Years in the Pacific; Including Notices of Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, and Peru. By an Officer of the United States Navy* (1834), 369–79.
8. *The Coasts of Chile, Bolivia and Perú,* 379.

9. If Captain Pease behaved as did Captain Vangs of *Typee* (6:34), the practice was altered, and the men were not given liberty until most of the work had been completed.
10. Certificate of John Stetson, United States vice–commercial agent at Lahaina, Maui, Sandwich Islands, dated June 2, 1843 (in NBWM and NBFPL).
11. Melville's memorandum, "What became of the ship's company of the whale-ship 'Acushnet,'" *Moby-Dick,* 1002–03, describes Brown as a boatsteerer. Since he shipped as a seaman, Brown's promotion occurred during the voyage, doubtlessly at Santa after Smith had deserted. Until this time there were three boatsteerers, all that the ship required.
12. The connection of these men with the crew of the *Acushnet* is documented by Melville's memorandum, "What became of the ship's company of the whale-ship 'Acushnet,'" *Moby-Dick,* 1002–03, and by consular certificates stating that Backus and Rosman deserted ship. John Backus deserted the *Acushnet* in "St. Francisco, California," in September 1844, according to the certificate signed by Henry Avey, U.S. Consular Agent, at Talcahuano, January 30, 1845, attached to the Master's Crew List. Mention of the steward is made in a letter from Richard T. Greene to Melville, dated June 16, 1856: "By the way do you remember Haynor, the Steward? Well I found him in New Orleans last winter keeping a Hotel! He wished to be remembered to you, should I write you" (HCL; *Correspondence,* 645–46).
13. There is nothing in the ship's official papers to suggest where or when they joined the crew.
14. Gansevoort Melville to Lemuel Shaw, July 22, 1842, in MHS-S. Quoted in part in *Correspondence,* 24–25, and in Leyda, *Log,* before July 2, 1841.
15. Gansevoort Melville was obviously in error in stating that his brother's letter was "dated in August 1841 at Santa Martha, coast of Peru." The *Acushnet* was on the Off-Shore Ground throughout August 1841 and was never closer than 1,250 miles during this period to any portion of the coast of Peru. Presumably Melville's letter was written at Santa (not Santa Martha), Peru, and placed on the first homeward-bound vessel encountered in August.
16. Thomas Johnson, Enoch Read, Joseph Luis, Henry Grant, William Maiden, James Williams, and Martin Brown all signed their names on the Whalemen's Shipping Paper with an *x.*
17. Entry for July 2, 1841, abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. John R. Spears, *The Story of the New England Whalers* (1908), 151–52. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 96. There is some difference of opinion as to the precise limits of the Off-Shore Ground. Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition,* vol 5, 517, placed the Ground between 5° and 10° south and 90° and 120° west, while Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler,* 146, identified the area as 3°–10° south, 90°–120° west.
2. Logbook of the *William Wirt* (Baker Library, Harvard). *Cf.* Leyda, *Log,* July 4, 1841.
3. Had the *Acushnet* continued in company with the *William Wirt,* Melville would have seen at anchor in Payta harbor on July 8, 1841, the *Charles and Henry* of Nantucket, the

third whaler in which he would serve (logbook of the *William Wirt,* July 8, 1841).

4. Otherwise the nautical evolutions of the ship seem inexplicable. No whales were sighted during these days, and neither wind nor weather was unfavorable.
5. See abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM, July 2–21, 1841. The day described as "rugged" was July 7.
6. In terms of the definition of the Ground by Starbuck. On July 15 the *Acushnet* had reached the 90th meridian of west longitude, the eastern limit of the Off-Shore Ground according to Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition,* and Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler.*
7. Samuel C. Coffin, "Journal of a Whaling Voyage to the Pacific Ocean and Else Where on Board of the Ship Lima of Nantucket," in NHA. See Leyda, *Log,* July 23, 1841.
8. It is quite likely that Melville's ship gammed before July 23, 1841, with other whalers. Entries in the logs of ships encountered and reports in marine columns of contemporary newspapers, however, do not explicitly so state.
9. Its journal records the capture of a 20-barrel whale on May 27, a 30-barrel whale on May 30, and a 20-barrel whale on May 31.
10. Abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM, July 25, 1841. The abstract log of the *Acushnet* is quoted throughout this chapter. Upon return home the *Midas* of New Bedford, a ship that spoke the *Acushnet* on August 9, fifteen days after this whale was sighted, reported Melville's ship as having 200 barrels of sperm oil (New Bedford *Morning Register,* January 4, 1842). The amount reported was apparently that onboard the *Acushnet* and did not include oil previously shipped home. With the 150 barrels trans-shipped at Rio de Janeiro, the total take would have been 350 barrels, the same amount as reported in the log of the *William Wirt* for July 4, 1841. It would seem then that on July 25 either the boats were not lowered, or if they were, the whale got away.
11. On some occasions when the *Acushnet* was spoken, Captain Pease seems to have declared the total quantity of oil taken during the voyage up to that time, on others only the amount he kept on board, and sometimes he evidently stated only in approximate terms the extent of his luck. For progressive reports as to the quantity of sperm oil taken during this cruise, see log of the *William Wirt,* July 4, September 25–26, 1841; New Bedford *Morning Register,* January 4, 1842; Nantucket *Inquirer,* February 12, 1842; New Bedford *Morning Register,* February 15, 1842; log of the barque *United States,* October 23, 1841 (in NBWM); and the log of the *Rousseau,* November 3, 1841 (in NBFPL).
12. New Bedford *Morning Register,* January 4, 1842.
13. Affidavit of Samuel B. Coggeshall, January 3, 1842, with Master's Crew List of the *Midas,* in NA-W.
14. Consular certificate dated March 29, 1841, attached to Master's Crew List of the *Midas,* in NA-W.
15. Compare the report of the *Midas* (200 barrels) for August 9, 1841 (New Bedford *Morning Register,* January 4, 1842), with that of the *Lima* (450 barrels) for August 16, 1841 (New Bedford *Morning Register,* February 10, 1842). Both reports may have referred only to the quantity of oil aboard the *Acushnet.* See also Boston *Courier* of February 10, 1842: "Our Edgartown correspondent reports the Acushnet . . . 7 mos

out, 610 brls—probably incorrect." The log of the *William Wirt,* September 25–26, 1841, gives the take of the *Acushnet* as 600 barrels—indicating that 250 barrels had been stowed down since July 4, 1841.

16. This represents unusually fast sailing for a whaler, especially in "rugged weather." Captain Daniel McKenzie in abstracting the log of the *Acushnet* may have erroneously transcribed the longitude for August 15, 1841, as "102.44" when he perhaps should have written "106.44."
17. *Moby-Dick,* 100:436–42. An entry dated August 17, 1841, in the log of the *George Washington* of Wareham, Massachusetts, Captain C. C. Russell (in NHA), records a meeting with the *Samuel Enderby* at 6 PM. A comparative plotting of the tracks of the *Acushnet* and the *George Washington* shows that at this time the two ships were approximately 75 miles apart. The log of the *George Washington* contains no mention of the *Acushnet* during the period of her cruise on the Off-Shore Ground.
18. Journal of the *Lima,* entries for August 16–18, 1841. See Leyda, *Log,* August 16, 1841.
19. Journal of the *Lima,* entries for July 26, 27; August 12, 1841.
20. *Moby-Dick,* 115:493–95.
21. Journal of the *Lima,* September 25, 1841.
22. Logbook of the *William Wirt,* entries for September 25–26, 1841. See Leyda, *Log,* September 25–26, 1841.
23. Logbook of the *William Wirt,* entry for September 25, 1841; relevant passages quoted in Leyda, *Log,* September 25, 1841.
24. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 346–47.
25. Henry H. Crapo, *The New-Bedford Directory* (1845), 51–52.
26. See logbook of the barque *United States* (in NBWM), entry for October 23, 1841, and that of the *Rousseau* (in NBFPL), entry for November 3, 1841.
27. New Bedford *Morning Register,* February 15, 1842. Compare the New York *Journal of Commerce,* June 11, 1842, which gives the date of the speaking of the *Alexander* as October 14, 1841. *Editors' note:* The present editors have not been able to find this item, seen by Wilson Heflin, in the *Journal of Commerce,* although on June 10, 1842, the *Journal of Commerce* reported: "SPOKEN By a New York pilot boat—Ship Alexander, 74 days from Talcahuana, with 2200 brls sperm oil."
28. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* June 25, 1841. All efforts to secure further details of this incident have been unsuccessful. Although the logbook of the *Alexander* was extant in 1935—see Charles H. Townsend, "The Distribution of Certain Whales as Shown by Logbook Records of American Whaleships," *Zoologica* 19 (April 3, 1935): 20—its present whereabouts is not ascertainable. The Official Crew List of this voyage is lacking from the collection in NA-W.
29. Logbook of the *United States,* entry for October 23, 1841. The New Bedford *Morning Register,* February 15, 1842, gives the date of this speaking as October 25, 1841.
30. Logbook of the *United States,* March 10–11, 1842.
31. J. H. Johnson to S. Prevost, March 23, 1842, "Callao-Lima Letters Received 1841–1844," in NA-RG84, and crew list of the *United States* in NA-W.
32. On September 4, 1841, when her noon position was only a few miles south of the equator, the *Acushnet* could have crossed the Line. Her average track, however, does not indicate that she did.

33. Sandusky *Register,* January 13, 1855; reprinted in Clarence Gohdes, "Melville's Friend 'Toby,'" *Modern Langauge Notes* 59 (January 1944): 53. *Cf.* Leyda, *Log,* October 24, 1841.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. Harry Halyard, *Wharton the Whale-Killer!* ([1848]), 40. This extremely rare volume is in HCL.
2. Charles G. Arthur, "Journal of a Voyage in the ship James Maury of Salem . . . under the command of Benjamin R. Hussey," in KWM.
3. Nantucket *Inquirer,* October 27, 1841.
4. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* February 18, 1842.
5. Ibid., February 21, 1842.
6. Ibid., November 6, 1841.
7. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 366–67.
8. Logbook of the *Lagoda* of New Bedford, Captain Edmund Mayfield, in NBWM.
9. Boston *Daily Advertiser*. *Editors' note*: Wilson Heflin inadvertently cited the date of the newspaper as January 21, 1842, the actual date of the incident. The newspaper date is now unknown.
10. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 374–75.
11. Ibid., 366–67.
12. *Whalemen's Shipping List, and Merchant's Transcript,* August 1, 1843.
13. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 368–69.
14. Ibid., 388–89.
15. A. C. Jackson, "Journal of a Cruise in the Frigate United States," August 5, 1843, in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
16. Nantucket *Inquirer,* October 23, 1841.
17. The Boston *Daily Advertiser,* December 2, 1841, reported: "A letter from tke [*sic*] mate of ship Cambria, of New Bedford, states that the boat's crew supposed to be lost from ship Congress, of Nantucket, had arrived at the Marquesas Islands. One man died in the boat." The New Bedford *Morning Register,* February 18, 1842, reported: "Capt McLean, of ship Superior, reported at Marquesas Islands, the boats crew of ship Congress of Nantucket, which was supposed to have been lost while fast to a whale; they were to take passage for Otaheite."
18. "Private Journal of Humphrey W. Seabury," in NBWM.
19. For prices of oil, see Crapo, *New-Bedford Directory* (1845), 51–52.
20. Certificate of S. R. Blackler, dated August 31, 1842, in "Record of Documents and Marine Protests 1840–1857," in Consular Posts: Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, vol. 7, NA-RG84. See also certificate attached to crew list of *Mount Vernon* in NA-W.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* February 16, 1843.
24. *Temperance Advocate, and Seamen's Friend,* Honolulu (June 27, 1843): 28.
25. To this group of whaling accidents might be added one that occurred a few months after Melville was discharged from his third whaler. He could have heard the story

from his brother Thomas, who served from 1846 to 1848 under Captain Charles Ball:

"*Fatal encounter with a Whale.* Capt. Ball, of the bark Emma, who arrived at this port on Thursday, from the Indian Ocean reports the loss of Capt. Edwin J. Ames, and Mr Gilbert Beebe, of the ship Clematis of New London, killed by a whale. Capt. Ball spoke the Clematis, Nov. 21st, 1843, in lat. 34 45 S. lon. 68 50 E., about an hour after this fatal occurrence had taken place. It appears that while the boat's crew were in the act of fastening to the whale, the monster struck with its flukes into the boat in a singular manner—the blow passing without injury over two men, and alighting upon the two above named who were in the opposite side of the boat. Capt. Ames received the blow in his left side, and Mr Beebe on the right side of his head, both of whom were killed almost instantly. Another seaman was considerably injured; while the boat received no damage" (*Whalemens' Shipping List, and Merchants' Transcript,* April 9, 1844).

26. Howard P. Vincent, *The Trying-Out of Moby-Dick* (1949), 163–74.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 13

1. [Captain Robert Fitz-Roy,] *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle,* II (1839), 494.
2. Charles Haskins Townsend, "The Galapagos Tortoises in Their Relation to the Whaling Industry: A Study of Old Logbooks," *Zoologica* 4 (July 29, 1925): 59.
3. Fitz-Roy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages,* 504. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, "Introduction," *The Encantadas* (1940), xvi. Samuel Garman, *The Galapagos Tortoises* (1917), 266. Tj. de Vries, "The Giant Tortoises: A Natural History Disturbed by Man," in *Key Environments: Galapagos* (1984), 155.
4. Townsend, *The Galapagos Tortoises,* 68–69.
5. Abstract log of the *Acushnet,* entry for October 30, 1841, vol. 15, NA-MFM
6. New Bedford *Morning Register,* February 15, 1842.
7. Melville's spelling was "Rodondo"; the more proper Spanish spelling is "Redonda."
8. "The Encantadas: Sketch Third," *Piazza Tales,* 134.
9. New Bedford *Morning Register,* February 15, 1842. The take of the *Richard Mitchell* is incorrectly given as 100 barrels.
10. He was a prominent citizen of Nantucket and had been for several years a member of the Massachusetts legislature. See Florence Bennett Anderson, *Through the Hawse-Hole* (1932).
11. Theodate Geoffrey [Dorothy Wayman], *Suckanesset. Wherein May Be Read a History of Falmouth, Massachusetts* (1930), 110.
12. "Narrative of Captain Silas Jones From the Log of the Awashonks," printed in Geoffrey, *Suckanesset,* 110–25. Slightly different versions of the story and this episode may be found in William M. Davis, *Nimrod of the Sea* (1874), 244–47, and in Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 129–31.
13. Geoffrey, *Suckanesset,* 119.
14. Ibid., 115.

15. Ibid., 116.
16. Ibid., 119.
17. Ibid., 121.
18. These paragraphs of *Typee* were omitted in the second edition.
19. To have occurred in time for mention to be made of it in *Typee* such a massacre would have had to happen between 1832 when the *Hobomok* was first registered as a whaler and 1846 when *Typee* was published.
20. Entry for February 20, 1842, "Journal of a Voyage in the Sharon of Fairhaven," in PPL-PN. This journal was kept by a boatsteerer whom Captain Norris turned before the mast: "the Capton come on deck and asked me if i got a nuf to eat last night he says that he understood that I said that I would have a nuf wance I asked him if he begruched me what I eat he said no but he says that I must shet up my head and if I didnot he would nock me to hell and take your things and go in the foaker sail [forecastle or fo'c's'le] or go to hell, he didnot care where I went in to the foakersail."
21. For printed accounts of the *Sharon* massacre, see Joan Druett, *In the Wake of Madness* (2003), William G. Kirschbaum, "A Thrilling Tale," New Bedford *Evening Standard,* June 8, 1901, and Spears, *Story of New England Whalers,* 132–40.
22. Melville's shipmate, Toby Greene, may have heard an eyewitness account of the *Sharon* massacre. The *London Packet* of Fairhaven, which he joined at Nukahiva, spoke the *Sharon* on February 9, 1843.
23. Melville's statement that his ship cruised in the vicinity of the South Head of Albemarle "[s]ome months before my first stepping ashore upon the group" ("The Encantadas: Sketch Second," *Piazza Tales,* 131) is not factually accurate.
24. Logbook of the *LaFayette* (in NBFPL), entry for November 3, 1841. Logbook of the *Rousseau* in NBFPL. The New Bedford *Morning Register,* February 15, 1842, gives November 2, 1841, as the date of the meeting of the *Acushnet* and *Rousseau.*
25. Certificates attached to crew list of the *Rousseau,* NA-W.
26. Alex Ruden, Jr., to Daniel Webster, October 29, 1841, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Paita, Peru, 1833–74 (microfilm T600, roll 1), NA-RG59. News of Johnson's death on October 29 had not yet reached the *Rousseau.*
27. Crapo, *New-Bedford Directory* (1841), 166. During April 1841 sperm oil sold at the following prices: 95 cents, 85 cents, 93 cents, 82 cents, and 81 cents.
28. *Mardi,* 32:105.
29. New Bedford *Morning Register,* February 15, 1842.
30. Abstract log of the *Acushnet,* entries for November 15–19, 1841, vol. 15, NA-MFM.
31. Abstract log of the *Acushnet,* entry for November 19, 1841, vol. 15, NA-MFM.
32. New Bedford *Morning Register,* February 15, 1842.
33. Logbook of the *Columbus* in NHA.
34. "The ancient whale-cry upon first sighting a whale from the mast-head, still used by whalemen in hunting the famous Gallipagos terrapin" (Melville's note in *Moby-Dick,* 54:242.)
35. After receiving a copy of *The Piazza Tales,* Richard T. Greene wrote Melville on June 16, 1856: "The 'Encantadas' called up reminiscences of days gone bye—the Acushnet—the 'turpin' &c." (HCL; *Correspondence,* 644).
36. *Autobiography of Captain James H. Woodhouse,* 50–51.

37. Thomas Nickerson, "Desultory Sketches," in Nathaniel and Thomas Philbrick, eds., *The Loss of the Ship Essex, Sunk by a Whale: First-Person Accounts* (2000), 133.
38. Notation of receipt of this letter is made in the front of the logbook of the *Columbus* (in NHA).
39. Logbook of the *Columbus,* entries for July 9, 12, 13, 15, and 17, 1841.
40. Fitz-Roy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages* II, 485.
41. Ibid., 487.
42. In one of the last of the extracts prefacing *Moby-Dick,* Melville quotes Darwin's *Voyage of a Naturalist.* The edition he consulted was the two-volume American one, published by Harper & Brothers, and the title he cited was that printed on the back of this edition. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 50, calls attention to the fact that a four-volume set entitled *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle,* the third volume of which was written by Darwin, was in the library of the frigate *United States* in which Melville served in 1843–44. The American edition Melville read while preparing *Moby-Dick* differs slightly from the third volume of the English *Narrative.*
43. Charles Darwin, *Journal of Researches Into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited During the Voyage of H. M. S. Beagle Round the World* (1846), II, 140–41.
44. He was born November 22, 1797. Banks, *History of Martha's Vineyard* III, 408.
45. For information on the publication of *The Encantadas,* see "Notes on 'The Encantadas,'" *Piazza Tales,* 600–06.
46. Russell Thomas, "Melville's Use of Some Sources in *The Encantadas,*" *American Literature* 3 (January 1932): 432–56. Thomas does not discuss Melville's use of Darwin. That was first noted by Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 50–51, and later discussed by H. Bruce Franklin in "The Island Worlds of Darwin and Melville," *Centennial Review* II (Summer 1967): 353–70, and Benjamin Lease, "Two Sides to a Tortoise: Darwin and Melville in the Pacific," *Personalist* 49 (Autumn 1968): 531–39.
47. On January 19 and 30, 1841, the *Acushnet*'s noon positions were a few miles closer to this island, but it did not at that time go from the group to Tumbez, Peru.
48. Melville, in saying that the island was "Far to the northeast of Charles' Isle, sequestered from the rest," was of course in error. The island, less than 30 miles north of Charles Island, is by no means sequestered. The island is also far larger than Melville's discussion of it in "Sketch Eighth" suggests. Charles N. Watson, Jr., in "Melville's Agatha and Hunilla: A Literary Reincarnation," *English Language Notes* 6 (December 1968): 114–18, and especially Robert Sattelmeyer and James Barbour in "The Sources and Genesis of Melville's 'Norfolk Isle and the Chola Widow,'" *American Literature* 50 (November 1978): 398–417, suggest possible sources. See also Hershel Parker, "Herman Melville's *The Isle of the Cross:* A Survey and a Chronology," *American Literature* 62 (March 1990): 1–16.
49. Jay Leyda, ed., *The Complete Stories of Herman Melville* (1949), 459, suggests that the captain of "Sketch Eighth," "a prompt, good fellow" was the skipper of Melville's third whaler. That ship, however, cannot be shown to have visited either the Galápagos Islands or Tumbez while Melville was aboard. It is difficult, on the other hand, to equate Captain Pease and the whaling master of this sketch.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

1. The sailing distance from Wreck Bay, Chatham Island, to Guayaquil, Ecuador, a little farther than that from Stephens Bay to Tumbez, is 656 miles. See *Table of Distances Between Ports Via the Shortest Navigable Routes.* Hydrographic Office Publications, no. 117 (1934), 153.
2. According to her abstract log, the *Acushnet* anchored there February 1–8, 1843. Jim Rosman jumped ship during the recruiting period.
3. Here again the evidence is somewhat confusing. Captain Pease in a letter sent from Tumbez (see New Bedford *Daily Mercury,* February 14, 1842) stated that his ship had taken 720 barrels of sperm oil, the same quantity reported on October 23, 1841, in the logbook of the *United States* (NBWM). Compare, however, the entry for November 3, 1841, in the logbook of the *Rousseau* (NBFPL), which gave the take of the *Acushnet* as 700 barrels.
4. "Notice to Mariners," letter of December 1, 1841, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Guayaquil, 1826–1849 (microfilm T209, roll T-1), NA-RG59.
5. Abstract log of the *Acushnet,* entry for December 2, 1841, vol. 15, NA-MFM.
6. William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847), I, 271.
7. Ibid.
8. James A. Rhodes, *A Cruise in a Whale Boat, By A Party of Fugitives* (1848). Rhodes stated that his recollections were written down "after a lapse of two or three years" (10).
9. Rhodes, *Cruise in a Whale Boat,* 12.
10. Ibid., 36.
11. Journal of Ansel Weeks, Jr., entry for August 1847 (in HCL).
12. Rhodes, *Cruise in a Whale Boat,* 50.
13. Ibid., 13.
14. "Journal of Edward Smith," entries for December 6–15, 1841 (in PPL-PN). A good account of this visit of the *Columbus* to Tumbez is found in *Autobiography of Captain James H. Woodhouse,* 38–45.
15. *James H. Woodhouse,* 38–41.
16. *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean, By Captain David Porter, in the United States Frigate Essex, In the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814* (1815), I, 205.
17. Ibid., 206.
18. Ibid. The Tumbez of 1813, as pictured by Captain Porter, had little altered by 1841 or by as late as 1858, when another naval officer visited there. The town was still primitive, and the alligators and tropical birds still abounded. See Rear-Admiral Daniel Ammen, *The Old Navy and The New* (1891), 306–7.
19. Affidavit of Captain E. F. Cook before S. R. Blackler, U.S. Consul at Tahiti, November 3, 1842, in "Record of Documents and Marine Protests 1840–1857," in Consular Posts: Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, vol. 7, NA-RG84.
20. Consular Papers, Tahiti, in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, reprinted as "Revolt Documents" in the Hendricks House edition of *Omoo,* ed. Harrison Hayford (1969), 309–39.

21. Alex Ruden, Jr., to John Forsyth, January 1, 1841, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Paita, Peru, 1833–74 (microfilm T600, roll 1), NA-RG59.
22. See, for example, the New York *Journal of Commerce,* January 26, 1842, and the indexes to NA-MFM.
23. According to vol. 134, NA-MFM, the *Roman* was at Tumbez from November 21 to December 4, 1841.
24. Volume 134, NA-MFM. See also the crew lists of the *Roman* and appended certificates in NA-W. During previous visits to Tumbez three men had deserted.
25. A certificate discharging William Lunney "on account of Sickness" dated December 2, 1841, and signed by Valentine Pease, Jr., William H. Bunker, William Lunney, Ed Taget, and Jh. Somontez, is attached to the Captain's Crew List of the *Roman,* in NA-W.
26. This important letter, containing a complete list of ships spoken between October 8 and December 1, 1841, is abstracted in the New Bedford *Daily Mercury,* February 14, 1842, and in other newspapers.
27. Crapo, *New-Bedford Directory* (1845), 51–52.
28. There were 22,680 gallons in 720 barrels of oil.
29. Had the *Acushnet*'s 720 barrels of sperm oil been sold at the December 1841 price, her owners would have realized almost half the amount brought by the sale of her inward cargo at the end of a more than four years' voyage.
30. Entry for December 15, 1841, abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM.
31. The information in this paragraph and those following comes from the abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM.
32. Charles G. Arthur, "Journal of a Voyage in the Ship James Maury of Salem," entry for January 30, 1842 (in KWM).
33. Charles G. Arthur, "Journal," entry for January 30, 1842.
34. Ibid.
35. Melville's ship did not meet with one of the whalers recently spoken by the *James Maury.* The log of the *Ocean* (in NHA) makes no mention of the *Acushnet* during the period of her visit to the Galápagos Islands.
36. Crapo, *New-Bedford Directory* (1841), 166.
37. Information concerning when whales were seen and in what kind of weather is ascertainable from the abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM.
38. See Boston *Daily Advertiser,* November 29, 1842, which reports the *Acushnet* on June 16 with 750 barrels of sperm oil onboard and 200 sent home, and the log of the ship *Potomac* of Nantucket (in PEM), which in an entry for July 4, 1842, records the take of Melville's ship as 950 barrels. The passage from Fairhaven to Santa yielded 350 barrels of sperm oil, from Santa to Tumbez 370, and from Tumbez to Nukahiva 230, making a total of 950.
39. Abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM, entry for March 25, 1842.
40. Ibid., entry for April 18, 1842.
41. Nantucket *Inquirer,* November 26, 1842. According to this newspaper the *Ontario* (after a voyage of only twenty-nine months) returned home with 2,100 barrels of sperm oil.

42. *James H. Woodhouse,* 23.
43. "Journal of Edward Smith," entries for May 4–5, 1842.
44. Nantucket *Inquirer,* November 26, 1842.
45. *James H. Woodhouse:* "She was a very fast vessel, and the only vessel we had any fear of being outsailed by was the ship Mercury of New Bedford" (23).
46. Crew list and certificates of the *Columbus,* in NA-W; "Journal of Edward Smith," entries for July 3, 19–20, 23, 1841, January 8, 1842.
47. *James H. Woodhouse,* 48.
48. "Journal of Edward Smith," entry for December 28, 1840.
49. *James H. Woodhouse,* 38.
50. Ibid., 45–48.
51. *Omoo,* 27:101–2.
52. "Journal of Edward Smith," entry for July 7, 1841.
53. *Omoo,* 80:302–6.
54. *James H. Woodhouse,* 78–79. In writing the story of his life, Captain Woodhouse consulted "daily journals and ships log books" of voyages made years before ([3]).
55. Since the abstract log of the *Acushnet* indicates that whales were seen on May 5 but the journal of the *Columbus* makes no mention of leviathans on that day, it is reasonable to assume that the ships were not together when the *Acushnet*'s lookouts saw "white water."
56. "Journal of Edward Smith," entries for May 7, May 20, June 3, 1842.
57. Charles G. Arthur, "Journal," entry for June 8, 1842: "the Cyrus and Enterprise reported several ships among which are . . . lately . . . Acushnet 750."
58. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* November 29, 1842. This report is confirmed by an entry in the log of the *Potomac* of Nantucket, July 4, 1842. After speaking the *Herald,* the *Acushnet* saw no more whales before coming to her next anchorage.
59. In terms of reports he might have heard at the Galápagos Islands, that sperm oil was bringing 81 1/2 cents the gallon in May 1841, he could have figured his gross earnings at $139.37, or $7.96 per month.
60. Crapo, *New-Bedford Directory* (1845), 52. Sperm oil would reach a low of 55 cents per gallon in May 1843, the month of Melville's discharge from his third whaler.
61. Charles G. Arthur, "Journal," entry for December 7, 1842.
62. *Sandwich Island Advocate,* November 18, 1843; reprinted in *Whalemens' Shipping List, and Merchants' Transcript,* March 26, 1844.
63. New York *Journal of Commerce,* January 7, 1842. "A letter from on board ship Chili . . . July 10th [1841] . . . Reports at Calao, ship Omega, Haggerty, of Nantucket, 9 mos out, 300 bbls, her crew in a state of mutiny, and 17 of them on shore in prison."
64. New York *Journal of Commerce,* January 26, 1842. "Reported (no date) ship Herald, Devoil, Fairhaven . . . crew in a state of mutiny."
65. On the *Acushnet* speaking the *United States,* see logbook of the *United States* in NBWM, entry for October 23, 1841. The New Bedford *Morning Register* gives the date of this speaking as October 25, 1841.
66. "Deposition of Mates and Crew of Ship Vineyard November 16th 1842" in "Seamen's Accounts, Estates and Miscellaneous Papers 1848–1858" (box 7), Consular Posts: Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, NA-RG84.

67. On the *Sharon* see Chapter 13.
68. Depositions, May 29, 1843, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, vol. 2), NA-RG59.
69. Captain's journal of the ship *Mars* (1841–45) in PPL-PN; in the entry for August 17, 1842, Captain Brownell wrote: "it is perplexing beating here under present circumstances but our divine Master knows what is best for us."
70. Log of the *Martha* of Fairhaven (1841–45) in PPL-PN.
71. Log of the *Martha,* entry for August 11, 1844.
72. Log of the ship *Tybee* (1841–44). *Editors' note:* The logbook of the *Tybee* was in the collection of Meylert M. Armstrong when it was examined by Wilson Heflin prior to 1952. Its present location is unknown.
73. Michael Hogan to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, Valparaiso, August 11, 1824, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Valparaiso, Chile 1812–1906 (microfilm M146, roll 1), NA-RG59.
74. Stanhope Prevost to the Secretary of State, Lima, August 3, 1841, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Lima, Peru, 1823–1854 (microfilm M154, roll 6), NA-RG59.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid. Consul Prevost suggested the propriety of remedial legislation requiring that if a seaman deserted, his wages be forfeited to "some marine hospital or other charitable institution at home" rather than to the ship and her owners.
77. Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition,* vol. 5, 528.
78. Richard T. Greene to Herman Melville, Chicago, April 8, 1861 (*Correspondence,* 685–86).
79. For a whaleman as experienced as Melville, this statement, in its context, seems incredibly naive. No whaling captain in his right mind would have allowed his ship to continue a lazy progress to a recruiting port when on the horizon he could see a spouting whale.
80. According to the logbook of *La Triomphante* (in AN), there had been "quelques grains de pluie" (a few drops of rain) at Nukahiva early Thursday morning, but from noon to 4 PM there was "Beau tem[p]s jolie brise de NO" (good weather and a pleasant breeze from the northwest).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 15

1. *Typee,* 2:12–13.
2. Commander French Forrest to Commodore Alexander Claxton, August 14, 1841, in Letters Received by the Secreatry of the Navy from Commanders, 1804–1886 (microfilm M147, roll 25), NA-RG45.
3. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* September 3, 1841.
4. Certificate signed Lawrence Hutchinson, "Pilot Bay of Taiheoa," July 29, 1843, attached to crew list of the *Rousseau* in NA-W.
5. *Typee,* 2:13.
6. Logbook of the *Potomac* of Nantucket (in PEM), entry for July 4, 1842.
7. Georg H. von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World,* 1 (1813), 93. See also Porter, *Journal of a Cruise,* 11, 22–23; Charles S. Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas,* 1 (1832), 139–40.

8. Journal of Midshipman Thomas J. Harris, in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Nukahivan women were not the only ones to board American whalers, as entries in Charles Arthur's journal concerning a stay at La Dominica (Hiva Oa) in July 1842 clearly indicate.
9. Report of August 27, 1842, "En mer à bord de la frégate la Reine Blanche," in Archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer.
10. *James H. Woodhouse,* 57, 58–59.
11. Abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM. The logbook of *La Triomphante* (in NA) states that "à 3h/50 un trois mats américain a mouillé dans la baie" (at 3:50 a three-masted American ship came to anchor in the bay). Since no other arrivals were mentioned for the day, the reference must be to Melville's ship.
12. Two documents indicate the presence of the *Nile* at Nukahiva at this time. A certificate attached to her crew list (in NA-W) states that on June 19, 1842, while this whaler lay "at anchor in Porters Bay, Nukuhiva," one of her men deserted. An entry in the logbook of the *Potomac* for July 3, 1842, states, "6 PM spoke ship Nile NB 13 ms 1000 spm just out off Nooaheva."
13. In *Typee,* 2:12, Melville speaks of six French ships of war being in the bay and later he refers to "[f]our heavy, double-banked frigates and three corvettes" (3:16). Both statements are somewhat exaggerated. The actual number of French vessels at anchor is ascertainable from the logbooks of the men-of-war of the French Pacific Squadron (in AN).
14. "Copie des instructions données à M^{r}. Collet" by Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, June 12, 1842, in AN.
15. Logbook of the *Potomac,* entry for July 4, 1842.
16. "Copie des instructions données à M^{r}. Collet," June 12, 1842, in AN. The occupation of the Marquesas Islands, although accomplished in 1842, does not seem to have been given parliamentary consideration until January 24, 1843, at a session of the Chamber of Peers. At that time the venture was explained in the following language: "C'est pour assurer au pavillon français un point d'appui, un port de refuge dans ces parages peu fréquentés encore par notre marine, que vous avez fait prendre possession des îles Marquises" (It is to assure the French flag a base, a port of refuge in these regions that are still rarely visited by our navy, that you have taken possession of the Marquesas Islands). The action was vigorously opposed by M. le comte Mathieu de la Redorte. See M. Bajot et M. Poirré, eds., *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales,* Tome 1 (1843), 147–64.
17. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 69–85, gives an excellent account of the French occupation. Official documents, now in the Archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, have been reprinted in Fréderick Murhead, ed., *Nouveau Recueil Général de Traités . . . , Tome III, comprenant l'an 1842* (1845), 134–38, and in *Annales Maritimes,* Tome II, Part II (1842), 1353–67.
18. Murhead, *Nouveau Recueil Général de Traités,* 137.
19. Rua-Poa was formally ceded to France on June 12, 1842. On August 1, 1842, the corvette *L'Embuscade* was dispatched to raise the French flag at Roua-houga.
20. *Annales Maritimes,* Tome II, Part II (1842), 1361–62, 1366–67.

21. *Annales Maritimes,* 1363–65.
22. *Annales Maritimes,* 1365. Taiooko's father was Tuoiea, chief of the Taipis-Oumis.
23. In a report dated August 18, 1842, Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars expressed the opinion that division among the tribes of the island was advantageous to the security of the French (Archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer). See also the report of Captain Collet printed in *Annales Maritimes,* Tome III (1844), 337–44.
24. Particulars of the French naval routine are found in the logbooks of *La Reine Blanche, La Boussole,* and *La Triomphante* (in AN).
25. *Typee,* 3:17.
26. Ibid.
27. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 77. The logbook of *La Reine Blanche* gives the date of arrival of this merchantman.
28. In a report dated October 30, 1842, Captain Collet related an interesting story concerning Moana, this horse, and a Taipi warrior at a feast of three tribes of the island. See *Annales Maritimes,* Tome III (1843), 254–55.
29. The logbook of *La Reine Blanche* (in AN), in which careful record was kept of all official moves of her flag officer, states that on July 6, 1842, "à 6h 1/2 l'amiral part dans son canot pour visiter un des ports dans l'o[uest] de l'ile. . . . l'amiral revient à 5h la baie des Täioa" (At 6:30 the admiral left in his boat to visit the ports on the west side of the island. . . . The admiral returned at 5:00 to the bay of the Taioas). Not knowing that the *Acushnet* did not come to Nukahiva until June 23, 1842, Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 80–81, erroneously supposed that Melville was present at Taioa Bay on June 9, when the French rescued Moana's wife.
30. Logbook of *La Triomphante* (in AN).
31. Logbooks of *La Reine Blanche* and *La Boussole* (in AN), entries for July 2, 1842.
32. *La Bucéphale* hailed Dupetit-Thouars with a thirteen-gun salute (logbooks of *La Reine Blanche* and *La Boussole,* July 3, 1842).
33. Logbook of the *Potomac,* entry for July 3, 1842.
34. Logbook of the *Potomac,* entry for July 4, 1842.
35. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 376–77.
36. Crapo, *New-Bedford Directory* (1845), 52.
37. Logbook of the *Potomac,* entry for July 7, 1842.
38. Report in the Archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer.
39. Report of Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, dated August 25, 1842, in the Archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer.
40. *Annales Maritimes,* Tome III (1844), 338–39.
41. In the same report Captain Collet told of witnessing a native ceremony that he believed would bring to an end the wars and cannibalism of two tribes that had been enemies for many years, the Taipis-Atuatuas and the Teiis. A group of Taipis-Atuatuas, inhabitants of the eastern extremity of Nukahiva, were brought to the fort on May 12, 1843, by Moana and the high priest of the Teiis. Pahoé-Pékao, their chief, signed an agreement recognizing the sovereignty of France and asked to be given protection on the same terms as granted to the Teiis. On the following morning Captain Collet went to the beach to participate in the celebration of a peace treaty

between the two tribes. There he saw a curious symbolic ritual that presumably signified the termination of hostilities and the abolition of cannibalism. At nine o'clock a great number of Teiis appeared in full war regalia, led by two men who bore on their shoulders a staff, three or four meters in length and strangely entwined with coconut leaves. Tied to this staff were a sea turtle, brought by the Taipis-Atuatuas, and a death's head. The skull, Captain Collet was told, was that of a Taipi chief, who after having eaten many Teiis had finally become their prisoner and had suffered the fate reserved for the vanquished. While the natives squatted on the ground before Moana's house, a dozen of them began tying rocks to bits of bindweed. At a signal from a gun these men and those bearing the staff went into the water. When they were some distance from the shore they fixed stones to the extremities of the staff and then cast their symbolic load into the bay. After the swimmers returned to shore, the entire group dispersed in silence.

42. See the statement of Max Radiguet, secretary to Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, quoted by Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 106.
43. Nantucket *Inquirer,* January 7, 1843; logbook of the *Charles* of New Bedford (in NBFPL).
44. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* June 9, 1837.
45. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 92–95, discusses several instances of whaling men being captured by Marquesans (including the story of Captain Brown of the *Catharine,* mentioned in *Typee*) and comments penetratingly on the reasons for such demonstrations of barbarity.
46. *Typee,* 6:34–35.
47. According to the logbook of the *Potomac,* one watch of the ship was given liberty each day, starting July 6, 1842.
48. Logbook of the *Potomac,* entries for July 4, 7, 11, and 13, 1842. See also logbook of the *Charles,* entry for July 13, 1842: "PM The Acushnet appears of[f] the harbour sends in a boat gets 2 out of the 4 men that deserted from him 5 days prev[ious]" (in KWM).
49. "The Cruise of the United States Sloop-of-War 'Vincennes,' Circumnavigating, 1833–1836. From the Journal of Robert Lee-Wright Browning, Lieutenant U.S. Navy," *The United Service* 13 (December, 1885): 719. If Manoo was thirteen in 1835, he would have been twenty in 1842.
50. Report of Captain Collet, August 1, 1843, in Archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer. See also *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales,* III (1844), 347.
51. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 117–78, has made an exhaustive study of the general truth of Melville's account in *Typee* and of his sources of information. See also Russell Thomas, "Yarn for Melville's *Typee,*" *Philological Quarterly* 15 (January, 1936): 16–29, and Mary K. Bercaw, *Melville's Sources* (1987).
52. The affidavit of Captain Pease, dated June 3, 1843 (in NBWM) and a memorandum concerning members of the crew of the *Lucy Ann* (in Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia) establish these dates.
53. Mabel Weaks, "Long Ago and 'Faraway': Traces of Melville in the Marquesas in the Journal of A. G. Jones, 1854–1855," *Bulletin of The New York Public Library* 52 (July, 1948): 368–69.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 16

1. Nelson F. Adkins, "A Note on Herman Melville's *Typee*," *New England Quarterly* 5 (April 1932): 348–51. See also Willard Thorp, ed., *Herman Melville: Representative Selections* (1938), 405; Newton Arvin, *Herman Melville* (1960), 3–4; Parker, *Herman Melville: A Biography,* 1 (1996), 383–89.
2. George Paston [Emily Morse Symonds], *At John Murray's: Records of a Literary Circle* (1932), 51–52. Thorp, *Representative Selections,* 405; John H. Birss, ed., "'A Mere Sale to Effect' with Letters of Herman Melville," *The New Colophon* 1 (July 1948): 239.
3. Charles R. Anderson, "Contemporary American Opinions of *Typee* and *Omoo,*" *American Literature* 9 (March, 1937): 1–25, and "Melville's English Debut," *American Literature* 11 (March, 1939): 23–38.
4. The New York *Gazette & Times,* March 30, 1846; quoted by Leyda, *Log,* March 30, 1846.
5. *John Bull,* March 7, 1846; quoted by Leyda, *Log,* March 7, 1846.
6. Brooklyn *Eagle,* April 15, 1846; quoted by Leyda, *Log,* April 15, 1846.
7. London *Times,* April 6, 1846; quoted by Leyda, *Log,* April 6, 1846.
8. New York *Evening Mirror,* April 4, 1846; quoted by Leyda, *Log,* April 4, 1846.
9. London *Examiner,* March 7, 1846; quoted by Leyda, *Log,* March 7, 1846.
10. *Graham's Magazine,* May 1846; quoted by Leyda, *Log,* May 1846.
11. *The Harbinger,* April 4, 1846; quoted by Leyda, *Log,* April 4, 1846.
12. *The Knickerbocker,* May 1846; quoted by Leyda, *Log,* May 1846.
13. Herman Melville to Evert Duyckinck, Lansingburgh, July 3, 1846 (*Correspondence,* 50).
14. George L. Duyckinck to Mrs. Edward Baker, New York, April 14, 1846 (NYPL). He stated in this letter that Melville's "exploits in descending the waterfalls beat Sam Patch and can you enlighten me as to how he gets down the last one. If I remember rightly he is on the top of a precipice at the end of one chapter and safe and sound at the bottom at the beginning of the next."
15. *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer,* April 17, 1846.
16. Letter dated Lansingburgh, May 23, 1846 (Boston Public Library; *Correspondence,* 38). See Zoltán Haraszti, "Melville Defends Typee," *More Books* 22 (June, 1947): 203–8.
17. Jay Leyda discovered "Typee. Toby's Own Story." in the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* and included parts of it in the *Melville Log,* July 27?, July 28?, July 29?, 1842, after July 8, 1846.
18. Herman Melville to John Murray, New York, July 15, 1846 (*Correspondence,* 55). This letter and eleven others to John Murray were discovered by Merrell R. Davis and presented in his 1947 dissertation and in Appendix 1 of *Melville's Mardi* (1952), 201–18. Melville's letter from Greene has not survived. Melville does not explain his mixed feelings: perhaps he objected to the printing of Greene's account because it dictated a narrative line for him to follow and because it made his own sequel less novel.
19. Herman Melville to John Murray, Lansingburgh, September 2, 1846 (*Correspondence,* 65).
20. John H. Birss, "*The Story of Toby,* a Sequel to *Typee*," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 1 (Winter 1947): 118–19.

21. Herman Melville to John Murray, Lansingburgh, September 2, 1846 (*Correspondence,* 65). According to Thurlow Weed, the meeting of Melville and Toby was in Rochester (not in Buffalo, as sometimes assumed). See Parker, *Herman Melville,* I, 445.
22. Actually the time was a little less than a year.
23. Abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM.
24. Nantucket *Inquirer,* January 3, 1843.
25. The drafts of this memorial from the papers of Captain Seth Pinkham were consulted by the author in the papers of Florence Bennett Anderson, who printed the memorial in her biography of Captain Pinkham, *Through the Hawse-Hole* (1932), 232–33. The date of this document—September 26, 1842—is perplexing. According to the abstract log of the *Acushnet* and a letter from Captain Pinkham to Daniel McKenzie, September 22, 1842, Captain Pease sailed from Nukahiva on September 21, 1842. Five days later the *Acushnet* was 77 miles from the island and thereafter even farther away. First Mate Raymond and Blacksmith Walcut could not, therefore, have been on hand to testify against James Fitz on September 27. Evidently the date of the memorial was erroneously set down. It is significant that Captain Pinkham's letter to McKenzie was placed on board the *Carysfort,* which departed Nukahiva on September 22 with James Fitz as an ordinary seaman.
26. Report of Captain Collet to Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, October 30, 1842 (in Archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer). Captain Collet wrote: "Je lui [Lord George Paulet] remis un sujet anglais nommé James que j'avais fait arrêter pour avoir tiré un coup de fusil à bout portant, sur un Suisse qui habite l'Ile, et pour avoir favorisé la desertion de plusieurs baleiniers américains, et aussi, bien que ce ne soit pas la raison déterminante, parceque cet homme que tout mesure d'ordre gênait beaucoup, disait à tous les Kanaka, que le premier bâtiment anglais qui viendrait nous chasserait d'ici, ce qui était saisi avec empressement par tous [ceux à qui] notre presence déplait" (I am sending Lord George Paulet an English subject named James, whom I have arrested for firing a point-blank shot at a Swiss man who lives on the island, and for having encouraged the desertion of several American whalemen. I also acted, although this was not the main reason, because this man, to whom all discipline was vexatious, said to all the Kanakas that the first English ship that came would drive us all out of here, something that was promptly seized upon by all those whom our presence here displeased).
27. Logbook of the H.M.S. *Carysfort,* ADM 57/3714, in the Public Record Office, London.
28. Muster Book of H.M.S. *Carysfort,* ADM 38/600, Accountant General's Department, Muster Series III, and Description Book of H.M.S. *Carysfort,* ADM 38/7769; both in the Public Record Office, London.
29. Muster Book of H.M.S. *Carysfort.*
30. Logbook of the *Potomac,* entry for July 13, 1842.
31. Certificate of John Stetson, June 2, 1843, Lahaina, attached to Master's Crew List of the *Acushnet. Editors' note:* Although there is an affidavit on the back of the Master's Crew List signed by John Stetson on June 2, 1843, it does not mention John Wright. The certificate referred to by Wilson Heflin may be the one now in the collection of NBFPL.

32. "What became of the ship's company of the whale-ship 'Acushnet,'" *Moby-Dick,* 1002–03.
33. With *White-Jacket* Melville was particularly cautious in this respect. In a letter to Richard H. Dana, Jr., May 1, 1850, he wrote: "Will you excuse me from telling you—or rathar from putting on pen-&-ink record over my name, the real names of the individuals who officered the frigate. I am very loath to do so, because I have never indulged in any ill-will or disrespect for them, personally; & shrink from any thing that approaches to a personal identification of them with characters that were only intended to furnish samples of a tribe—characters, also, which possess some not wholly complimentary traits. If you think it worth knowing,—I will tell you all, when I next have the pleasure of seeing you face to face" (*Correspondence,* 160–61).
34. Report of Captain Collet to Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, Fort Collet, October 30, 1842, in Archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer.
35. *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales,* Tome III (1844), 337–40, 347.
36. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 117; Arvin, *Herman Melville,* 57.
37. Robert Louis Stevenson and others have commented on Melville's habit of spelling proper and place names phonetically. See Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 451.
38. *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales,* Tome III (1844), 337–38.
39. Vivien de Saint-Martin et Louis Rousselet, *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle,* III (1887), 684.
40. In Captain David Porter's *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean,* Melville could have found a wealth of factual detail, including an account of the perilous overland passage from Taiohae Bay to the valley of the Taipis. See Porter, II, 97–102. Greg Dening, in *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774–1880* (1980), writes: "To the names and places of the Marquesas had been added what was in some sense to become the most famous name of all, Taipi or 'Typee.' By being Porter's enemy the Taipi became a savage, treacherous, sullen group of warriors whose ferocity was a compliment to those who defeated them. Their valley . . . was sinister and foreboding. . . . Herman Melville, who read David Porter closely, would enlarge the experience of his own short three weeks stay among the Taipi with Porter's image of the 'Typee,' and Aoe [outsiders, non-Marquesans] enjoyed this vision of the savage for a hundred years and more" (28).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 17

1. Shipping Register No. 20, December 10, 1835, in Vaughan Evans Library, Australian National Maritime Museum, Sydney, Australia. See Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 467. Also, "Report of a Barque arrived in Port Jackson, this 20 Day of May 1843," in Reports of Vessels Arrived, 1826–59, SRNSW: CGS 1291, State Records Authority of New South Wales, Australia (microfilm 4/5223, reel 1270); Sydney *Morning Herald* of February 15, 1842. Captain Ventom's statement that the barque sailed on February 18, 1842, is evidently in error (deposition, October 5, 1842, in *Lucy Ann* Papers, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, reprinted as "Revolt Documents" in the Hendricks House edition of *Omoo,* ed. Harrison Hayford [1969], 319; hereafter cited as "Revolt Documents").

2. Copy of crew list, "Revolt Documents," 312–13. In this document James Watts's name appeared twice and some of the names were cancelled, perhaps before the barque sailed. It would seem that a total of thirty-three officers and men were shipped before the *Lucy Ann* left Sydney.
3. Copy of Articles of Agreement, January 25, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 310.
4. Sydney *Morning Herald,* December 2, 1842.
5. In view of the events following the first recruiting period of the *Lucy Ann,* it seems highly probable that the 120 barrels of sperm oil that the barque brought to Tahiti in September, 1842 (Sydney *Morning Herald,* December 2, 1842), were taken by July of that year.
6. "Journal of Edward Smith" in PPL-PN, entry for June 27, 1842.
7. Commandant E. Halley to Rear Admiral A. Dupetit-Thouars, Vaitahu, July 22, 1842 (in Archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer). Captain Ventom in his depostion of October 5, 1842 ("Revolt Documents," 319) erroneously referred to the month of his arrival at Santa Christina as June 1842.
8. Deposition of James German, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 322.
9. Deposition of Captain Henry Ventom, "Revolt Documents," 319.
10. Commandant E. Halley to Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, July 22, 1842.
11. Deposition of James German, "Revolt Documents," 322.
12. Commandant E. Halley to Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, July 22, 1842.
13. Log of *Le Bucéphale,* July 23–26, July 30, 1842.
14. Commandant E. Halley to Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, August 6, 1842 (in Archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer).
15. Henry Smith to George Lefevre, Tahiti, September 25, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 315.
16. The evidence in favor of a stop at La Dominica at this time and the shipping of John Garritson is the place that Garritson's name appears on the crew list ("Revolt Documents," 313) and the statement of Acting Consul Charles B. Wilson that this boatsteerer joined the *Lucy Ann* at La Dominica on August 2 (memorandum, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 329). In a certificate made on October 6, 1842, however, Wilson stated that Garritson was shipped on August 26 ("Revolt Documents," 330). This Garritson may have been a young American whaleman. A John Garritson, age 35, address Norristown, Pennsylvania, was issued a Seaman's Protection Paper at New Bedford on July 29, 1859. Another John Garritson, age 22, address Rochester, Massachusetts, was issued a Seaman's Protection Paper at Providence on August 19, 1839 (Index to Abstracts of Seamen's Protection Certificates, Various Ports, 1797–1875, NA-RG36).
17. Logbook of *La Reine Blanche,* August 7, 1842.
18. Deposition of James German, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 324.
19. Deposition of Benbow Byrne, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 326.
20. Memorandum of Charles B. Wilson, "Revolt Documents," 329, and Wilson's notes, "Revolt Documents," 318.
21. Journal of Charles G. Arthur, entry for July 7–27, 1842 (in KWM).
22. Register of Seamen, Edgartown, October 12, 1837, in Indexes to Abstracts of Seamen's Protection Certificates, Various Ports, 1797–1875, NA-RG36.

23. Memorandum of Charles B. Wilson, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 329.
24. *Typee,* 4:21.
25. They were among those who made depositions against the revolters at Tahiti October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 326–27.
26. Nash took no active part in the revolt at Tahiti.
27. Deposition of Benbow Byrne, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 326.
28. See the separate depositions and Wilson's notes, "Revolt Documents," 309–39.
29. Deposition of James German, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 324.
30. Copy of crew list of the *Lucy Ann,* "Revolt Documents," 313.
31. Deposition of James German, "Revolt Documents," 323–24.
32. They were among the group who made depositions against the revolters at Tahiti.
33. "Transactions at the Bay of Hanamanoo From July 7th to 27th [1842] inclusive," in Journal of Charles G. Arthur.
34. Copy of crew list, and memorandum of Charles B. Wilson, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 313, 329. Bunnell and Sylva shipped for "the cruise" only.
35. Deposition of Captain Henry Ventom, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 319–20.
36. Ibid., 320.
37. F. Johnstone to C. B. Wilson, Tahiti, September 24, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 314.
38. Deposition of Benbow Byrne, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 325.
39. Deposition of James German, "Revolt Documents," 323.
40. Deposition of Captain Henry Ventom, "Revolt Documents," 320.
41. Logbook of *La Reine Blanche* (in AN), entry for September 19, 1842. According to various of the *Lucy Ann* papers, Melville's barque came to Tahiti on September 20. Dates in these papers were in accord with the Tahitian calendar, whereas the log keepers of *La Reine Blanche* followed the western calendar. In *Omoo,* Melville speaks of seeing the French frigate upon his arrival off Tahiti. "Hardly had we made her out, when the booming of her guns came over the water. She was firing a salute, which afterward turned out to be in honor of a treaty; or rather—as far as the natives were concerned—a forced cession of Tahiti to the French, that morning concluded" (19:69). Ever since Robert S. Forsythe's careful study, "Herman Melville in the Marquesas," *Philological Quarterly* 15 (January, 1936): 1–15, it has been assumed that Melville, preferring the exciting date to the actual one, had hastened in *Omoo* his coming to Tahiti by about two weeks to make it coincide with the salute from the guns of *La Reine Blanche,* for the provisional cession of the island to France was effected on September 9, 1842. Now, with new evidence, it seems that Melville was not, in this instance, juggling dates in *Omoo* for dramatic effect. Hearing the guns of the frigate firing a salute on September 19 and later learning of the actions of Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars at Tahiti, he must have supposed that they were necessarily related.
42. Deposition of Captain Henry Ventom, "Revolt Documents," 320.
43. There are apparent discrepancies in the testimony concerning at least ten different events: (1) when Captain Ventom was taken ashore, (2) when Wilson first questioned the crew, (3) when the first four men revolted, (4) when others joined the revolt, (5) when James Watts fought Benbow Byrne, (6) when German took the *Lucy Ann* into port, (7) when the revolters were examined at the English consulate, (8) when Melville

joined the revolters, (9) when the final examination was held, and (10) whether Melville was recommitted to the native prison.

44. Deposition of Captain Henry Ventom, "Revolt Documents," 320.
45. Deposition of James German, "Revolt Documents," 323.
46. In 1840 Wilson had been captain of the *Currency Lass,* an English schooner. See Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 208.
47. Dr. Francis Johnstone to C. B. Wilson, September 22, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 314.
48. Certificate of Charles B. Wilson, September 24, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 314.
49. Dr. Francis Johnstone to C. B. Wilson, September 22, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 314.
50. Deposition of Captain Henry Ventom, "Revolt Documents," 320.
51. Deposition of Captain Henry Ventom, "Revolt Documents," 320. See also copy of the crew list, "Revolt Documents," 312–13. Lists of American seamen who were issued Protection Papers (in Indexes to Abstracts of Seamen's Protection Certificates, Various Ports, 1797–1875, NA-RG36) include the names of John Fish, Abraham Pierce, and Abraham Pierce, Jr.
52. Deposition of Captain Henry Ventom, "Revolt Documents," 320.
53. Deposition of James German, "Revolt Documents," 323.
54. Deposition of Benbow Byrne, "Revolt Documents," 326.
55. Deposition of James German, "Revolt Documents," 324.
56. Deposition of Benbow Byrne, "Revolt Documents," 326.
57. Deposition of James German, "Revolt Documents," 323–25.
58. Deposition of Benbow Byrne, "Revolt Documents," 326. The ten men in revolt were foremast hands William Bunnell, Henry Burke, David Fraser, William Matthews, James Smyth, Amado Sylva, John B. Troy, Charles Watts, and James Watts, and boatsteerer John Garritson. Henry Smith and Nicholas Utley were sick and so excused from duty. The men remaining loyal to mate James German, acting master of the *Lucy Ann,* were acting third mate Benbow Byrne, boatsteerer George Antonio, cooper Andrew Blackburn, carpenter Joseph Jackson, cook James Hall, foremast hands William Brown, Charles Cross, Robert Davis, John Nash, and Immanuel Senora, two of the men shipped at La Dominica, John White and Friday, and the four men shipped at Tahiti: John H. Fish, Abraham Pierce, Maharo, and Tihemu.
59. Deposition of James German, "Revolt Documents," 323–25.
60. Logbook of the *Statira* (in PPL-PN).
61. According to her logbook (in AN), the French warship arrived at Papeete August 30, 1842.
62. H. Ventom to C. B. Wilson, Tahiti, September 24, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 315.
63. Deposition of James German, "Revolt Documents," 324. See also undated memorandum of Charles B. Wilson, "Revolt Documents," 318.
64. Undated memorandum of Charles B. Wilson, "Revolt Documents," 318.
65. For a description of the calaboose, see Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 213.
66. For indication of the attitude of the native authorities towards Wilson, see his letter of November 18, 1842, to the French Provisional Council, "Revolt Documents," 335–36.
67. In Captain Ventom's deposition the date is given "On Wednesday the Twenty

Seventh," but September 27 fell on a Tuesday. Mate German said "On Wednesday the 29th," but September 29 fell on Thursday. Eight members of the loyal crew dated the event "the Twenty seventh day of September" in their joint deposition. Acting Consul Wilson, in a certificate of October 5, 1842, dated the interview on "the Twenty seventh day of said month of September," but in a memorandum he spoke of it as being on "Thursday 29th" ("Revolt Documents," 320, 324, 327, 328, 318).

68. Deposition of James German, "Revolt Documents," 324.
69. Penciled letter from Smith to Lefevre, September 25, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 315–16, which was evidently intercepted before its delivery. Harrison Hayford first identified this letter as being in Melville's handwriting (*Correspondence,* 25–26).
70. Deposition of James German; copy of articles of agreement, "Revolt Documents," 324, 311.
71. Draft of letter from Wilson to the Provisional Council, Tahiti, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 316.
72. Wilson's rough translation of the reply of the Provisional Council, "Revolt Documents," 317–18.
73. Wilson's undated memorandum and depositions of witnesses, October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 318–27. The date of the final examination was evidently according to the Tahitian calendar.
74. Undated memorandum of C. B. Wilson, "Revolt Documents," 316.
75. Because Melville's name is lacking from the list of those returned to prison as set down in the two copies of Wilson's certificate of October 5, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 329, there is some reason to doubt that he went back to jail. He is, however, listed among the prisoners in Wilson's certificate for Captain Ventom, October 6, 1842, and in Wilson's memorandum, "Seamen belonging to Barque 'Lucy Ann' of Sydney committed to the charge of Local Authorities for revolt and refusal of Duty, Tahiti, Oct. 5th 1842" ("Revolt Documents," 330–31, 329). In the draft of a letter to the Governor of New South Wales, October 5, 1842, Wilson spoke of *eleven* seamen whom he was keeping in confinement ("Revolt Documents," 330).
76. Promissory contracts, "Revolt Documents," 332–33.
77. "Crew of Barque 'Lucy Ann' at Tahiti Oct. 6th/42," "Revolt Documents," 331–32.
78. Peter Redpath, Thomas Silsbee, Immanuel Fanny, Immanuel Castile, and Silvester Druitt, new members of the crew of the *Lucy Ann,* had been brought to Tahiti on September 30, 1842, along with thirteen other destitute seamen rescued by the schooner *Emerald* from the coral island on which their whaler had been destroyed. After the shipwreck on August 4, 1842, Captain Edwin L. Mayhew, his mate, and four seamen had made a thirteen-day open boat passage to Tahiti. See "Report of the Loss of the American Ship Cadmus on a Lagoon Island in the South Pacific on the 4th of August at midnight," in "Accounts, Mutinies, Surveys, Estates 1841–1870" (box 5), Consular Posts: Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, NA-RG84; "Loss of Ship Cadmus," *The Sailor's Magazine* XV (March 1843): 213. The *Cadmus* story seems to have impressed Melville and to have stuck in his memory. For the possible relationship of this accident and its aftermath to "The Town-Ho's Story" in *Moby-Dick,* see Chapter 20.
79. Francis Lopez (or Lopers), recently discharged from the *Statira* of Nantucket

(on September 26, 1842), was another new recruit of the *Lucy Ann* (logbook of the *Statira*).

80. "Crew of Barque 'Lucy Ann' at Tahiti—Oct. 6th/42," "Revolt Documents," 331–32.
81. Certificate of Charles B. Wilson for Captain Henry Ventom, October 12, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 334.
82. Sydney *Morning Herald,* December 2, 1842.
83. Sydney *Morning Herald,* May 22, 1843. The *Lucy Ann* returned to Sydney with only 250 barrels of sperm oil.
84. Lieutenant Henry A. Wise in 1848 examined Dr. Johnstone's dose book and found record of prescriptions made by the physician for Melville. See *Los Gringos* (1849 [1850]), 399n.; Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 227–28; Leyda, *Log,* October 14–18, 1842.
85. "Consular Return of Vessels arriving at & departing from Tahiti from July 1. to December 31. 1842 inclusive," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, 1836–1906 (microfilm M465, roll 2), NA-RG59.
86. Three days after the arrival of the ship *Nile* at Tahiti on October 24, 1842, Samuel R. Blackler, the American consul, wrote Wilson stating that Captain Edwin F. Cook had made application to him for the recovery of Manuel Silva. Blackler stated that Silva was alleged to have deserted from the *Nile* (letter in "Revolt Documents," 334). Wilson replied that, in view of the prisoner's part in the *Lucy Ann* revolt, he did not feel justified in delivering him up (C. B. Wilson to S. R. Blackler, Tahiti, October 28, 1842, in "Miscellaneous Letters Received from July 13 1839—March 6 1869" [vol. 9], Consular Posts: Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, NA-RG84).
87. Draft of letter from C. B. Wilson to the French Provisional Council, Tahiti, November 19, 1842, "Revolt Documents," 336.
88. *Omoo,* 5:19–22.
89. Ibid., 12:44–49.
90. Ibid., 4:16–18.
91. Ibid., 2:11–12.
92. Ibid., 19:70–72.
93. Ibid., 23:87–90.
94. Ibid., 27, 28:103–7.
95. Concerning the findings of Lieutenant Henry A. Wise, Edward Lucett, and Edward T. Perkins, see Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 200, 227, 229, 286, 290, 303, and 305–7. A most important source on Melville on Eimeo is the annotated copy of *Omoo* in the library of St. John's College, Annapolis; it contains corrections of descriptions of details and characters that were apparently made by Alexander Simpson and copied into another *Omoo,* the one in the St. John's library, by Passed Midshipman Samuel Marcy in the course of a visit to Eimeo. Simpson was a missionary, the brother-in-law of Missionary-Consul George Pritchard, and an especial favorite of Queen Pomaré. He was ordained as a missionary in January 1827, arrived in Tahiti in August of that year, and moved in June of 1829 to Papetoai on the island of Eimeo. He was employed as a tutor at the South Seas Academy on Eimeo when Samuel Marcy visited the Society Islands in November 1848. Simpson had written comments throughout his own copy of *Omoo,* which Marcy then copied into the edition that later made its way into the St. John's College library. Heflin gave an untitled talk on the annotations at

a meeting of the Melville Society at Princeton in 1973. Copies of this talk now reside in the Jay Leyda papers as well as in the Heflin papers at the Newberry Library. See Parker, *Herman Melville: A Biography*, 1, 909.

96. See Parker, *Herman Melville,* 1, 227–28. Parker credits Rita Gollin with finding the Libbey memoir in the *Shaker Manifesto* VIII (January-February, April-December 1878). The eleven installments appeared serially in a department of the magazine called "For the Children," pages 18–19, 46–47, 96–98, 121–22, 145–46, 169–71, 197–98, 227–29, 241–43, 278–80, 309–11. *Editors' note:* Interestingly, Wilson Heflin, whose dissertation predates the discovery of the *Shaker Manifesto* piece, had speculated that James Martin was a possible candidate for the original of Zeke, based on his leasing of land at Maatea ("Record of Lease of land to James Martin October 19 1842" in "Record of Documents and Marine Protests, Tahiti, 1840–1857" [vol. 7], Consular Posts: Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, NA-RG84). Heflin also suggested Ebenezer Seger, who was mentioned by Consul S. R. Blackler in a list of "American residents in this vicinity" that was submitted to the Provisional Council on October 2, 1842 (Miscellaneous Letters, Tahiti, 1839–71, in NA-RG84), as another possible candidate for the original of Zeke.
97. So Melville admitted in a letter to John Murray, January 29, 1847 (*Correspondence,* 78). See Merrell R. Davis, *Melville's Mardi* (1952), 31.
98. Leon Howard, *Herman Melville* (1951), 62.
99. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 237–38.
100. For a detailed analysis of Melville's attack, see Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 237–83.
101. See Harrison Hayford, "Editors' Introduction," Hendricks House edition of *Omoo* (1969), xxii-xxvii.
102. There is no direct evidence, such as could be found in an Official Crew List (if such a document survived), of Melville's joining the *Charles and Henry* at Eimeo at this time. That Melville was discharged from this whaler at Lahaina is indicated by an official letter of John B. Stetson, United States vice commercial agent: "I send by this vessel . . . John Wallace, dischd from Ship Charles & Henry [and 16 other destitute seamen] . . . Also 3 men that were discharged at this Office, not however on my hands,—their names are Herman Mellvil [*sic*], Joseph Whiting, dischd from Ship Chs & Henry & Francis Sarsfield, dischd from Barque Damon" (John Stetson to William Hooper, Lahaina, May 18, 1843, in "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" [box 30] in Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84). The facts that both Melville and Whiting were at Eimeo in November 1842, that the *Charles and Henry* did not visit another island port during her cruise between Eimeo and Lahaina, and that Melville's account in *Omoo* squares well with the known facts of the Nantucket whaler's third voyage all argue in favor of his having joined the craft at Eimeo. For further discussion of the identification of Melville's last whaling ship, see Wilson L. Heflin, "Melville's Third Whaler," *Modern Language Notes* 64 (April, 1949): 241–45.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 18

1. A copy of this letter is in NHA, coll. 154. The letter was originally owned by Meylert M. Armstrong, and then was in the Barbara Johnson Collection. Its potential im-

portance was first noted by Jay Leyda in 1947, when Melville's third whaler was still unidentified.

2. Certificate of Consul S. R. Blackler, November 21, 1842, in "Record of Documents and Marine Protests 1840–1857" (vol. 7), Consular Posts, Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, NA-RG84. That Whiting served on the *Charles and Henry* is documented by a letter from John Stetson to William Hooper, Lahaina, May 18, 1843, in "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" (box 30), Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84. Castro, who sailed from Nantucket in the ship on its next voyage, must have made the third voyage also (Coffin Whaling Papers, NHA).
3. Howard, *Herman Melville,* 63.
4. Herman Melville to Richard Bentley, June 27, 1850, *Correspondence,* 163.
5. Nantucket *Inquirer,* May 6, 1843.
6. In "Accounts, Mutinies, Surveys, Estates 1841–1870" (box 5), Consular Posts: Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, NA-RG84, there are several bills of John Wallace that were paid by the American consul.
7. Contract in Coffin Whaling Papers, NHA.
8. Register of the *Charles and Henry,* NA-CS.
9. Will Gardner, *The Coffin Saga* (1942), 196, 158–95, 198–99.
10. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 356–57, 366–67, 376–77.
11. Gardner, *The Coffin Saga,* 229; Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 290–91.
12. Gardner, *The Coffin Saga,* 229–30.
13. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 290–91, 660.
14. Ibid., 326–27.
15. Captain George F. Joy to Charles G. and Henry Coffin, Tahiti, December 26, 1837 (Coffin Whaling Papers, coll. 51, folder 31, NHA).
16. Logbook of the *Charles and Henry,* September 25, 1837. *Editors' note:* The logbook of the *Charles and Henry* was in the collection of Dr. Walter Willard Boyd when it was examined by Wilson Heflin prior to 1952. Its present location is unknown.
17. Logbook of the *Charles and Henry,* October 11, 1837. Captain George F. Joy to Charles G. and Henry Coffin, Tahiti, December 26, 1837 (Coffin Whaling Papers, coll. 51, folder 31, NHA).
18. Logbook of the *Charles and Henry,* October 8, 1839.
19. Logbook of the *Charles and Henry,* February 2, 1840.
20. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 326–27.
21. Letter of Captain John B. Coleman, November 2, 1842.
22. Entry on back of register of *Charles and Henry,* NA-CS.
23. Entry on back of register of *Charles and Henry* dated December 16, 1840, NA-CS.
24. Friends Records, NHA.
25. "Abstract of the Registry of American Seamen in the District of Nantucket . . . commencing July 1st, and ending September 30th 1825," in NA-RG36. Coleman's residence at the time of the 1825 voyage out of Nantucket was listed as Nova Scotia.
26. Friends Records, NHA.
27. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 292–93.
28. Logbook of the *Zenas Coffin* (in KWM). The information on the number of whales

raised by Captain John B. Coleman, the number of whales caught by the starboard boat under his command, the total number of whales caught, and the barrels of sperm oil stowed down from Captain Coleman's six whales comes from the back of the logbook.

29. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 292–93.
30. Ibid., 326–27.
31. Coffin Whaling Papers, coll. 334, folder 54, NHA.
32. Captain John B. Coleman, Jr., to Charles G. and Henry Coffin, Maui, November 18, 1836 [1838], Coffin Whaling Papers, coll. 334, folder 54, NHA. Emphasis in original.
33. Letters of January 31, 1836, and November 18, 1836 [1838], Coffin Whaling Papers, coll. 334, folder 54, NHA.
34. Letter of November 18, 1836 [1838], Coffin Whaling Papers, coll. 334, folder 54, NHA. Emphasis in original.
35. Letter of June 26, 1836, Paita, Coffin Whaling Papers, coll. 334, folder 54, NHA.
36. Letters of December 24, 1836, Talcahuano, and November 12, 1837, Maui, Coffin Whaling Papers, coll. 334, folder 54, NHA.
37. Letter of November 12, 1837, Coffin Whaling Papers, coll. 334, folder 54, NHA.
38. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 326–27.
39. Ibid., 366–67. The *Charles and Henry* voyage compared most unfavorably with those of two other Coffin ships sailing in the same year. The *Catawba* took almost three times as many barrels of sperm oil and the *Zenas Coffin* almost four and a half times as many.
40. Concerning the early part of the voyage, see the New Bedford *Mercury,* April 23, 1841; the Nantucket *Islander,* October 23, 1841; and the logbook of the *William Wirt* (Baker Library, Harvard), entry for July 8, 1841.
41. New Bedford *Daily Mercury,* April 5, 1842.
42. New Bedford *Mercury,* April 22, 1842.
43. Logbook of the *George Washington* of Wareham, Massachusetts (in NHA), entry for May 31, 1842.
44. "Ships generally are low I have hard of but vary few Whales being seen in these parts the last 6 Months. . . . Captain Coleman has been truely unfortunate 18 m 300 bbls," wrote Captain Henry Pease II to Charles G. and Henry Coffin on September 18, 1842. For other reports of the progress of the voyage, see the New Bedford *Daily Mercury,* December 28, 1842; logbook of the *Ocean* of Nantucket (in NHA), entries for September 13–14, 1842; and the Nantucket *Telegraph,* May 12, 1843.
45. At the end of her cruise in April 1843 the ship had a crew of eighteen Americans and ten foreigners (Consular Return Of American Vessels arriving at, and departing from Lahaina Maui . . . from the 1st of Jany 1843 to the 1st July 1843 inclusive," in "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846," [box 30], Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84).
46. In "Abstract of Protections Granted to American Seaman . . . for the District of Edgartown [Massachusetts] . . . in the Quarter ending December 31st 1840," Records of the Department of the Treasury, National Archives, twenty-five mariners are listed for the dates December 15–16, 1840. The first name is that of Samuel Wheeler, who had sailed aboard the *Charles and Henry* during her recently concluded voyage (Coffin

Whaling Papers, NHA). Other mariners in the list include George Jordan, the boatsteerer who is mentioned in Captain Coleman's letter of November 2, 1842 (see note 1 above), John Smith, who was discharged at Payta ("Statement of Cases of Relief afforded to destitute American Seamen at the U.S. Consulate, Sandwich Islands, during the Quarter Year ending Dec 31. 1842," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii 1820–1903 [microfilm M144, roll 1], NA-RG59), Thomas Place, who was discharged from the ship on October 4, 1844 ("Statements of Cases of Relief . . . Lahaina . . . during the Quarter ending 1844," NA-RG84), and George Baldwin, who had recently sailed with Captain Coleman (Coffin Whaling Papers, NHA). The names of these seamen were recorded at the time that the *Charles and Henry* was in port at Edgartown, just before she sailed on her third voyage.

47. The following seamen were listed for December 15, 1840 (name, birthplace, age, height, complexion, hair, eyes):

Samuel Wheeler, Portland, Me, 27, 5'7", light, dark, hazel
John Anderson, Delaware, 42, 5'7", black, woolly, black
Charles Marshal, New York City, 29, 5'3", black, woolly, black
Henry Carman, New York City, 20, 5'9", black, woolly, black
Daniel Goff, Ohio, NY, 41, 5'7", yellow, black, black
Charles Bantom, Bridgewater, Penn, 19, 5'9 3/4", yellow, black, black
Stephen Daniels, Flat Bush, NY, 25, 5'7", black, woolly, black
David Veeder, Nantucket, Ms, 28, 5'11", fair, dark, hazel
Robert Eden, Portland, Me, 25, 5'4 3/4", light, brown, hazel
John Johnson, Philadelphia, Penn, 37, 5'7 3/4", copper, woolly, black
John D. Earl, Hackinsack, NJ, 19, 5'6", fair, brown, blue

On December 16, 1840, these seamen were listed:

William Roberts, Philadelphia, Penn, 19, 5'6", fair, dark, hazel
Alexander M. Creighton, Albany, NY, 20, 5'8", light, dark, blue
George Stone, Newbury Port, Ms, 19, 5'6", light, brown, hazel
William Williams, Clinton, NJ, 28, 5'11", black, woolly, black
George Jordan, New York City, 21, 5'8 1/2", fair, dark, hazel
George Baldwin, Nantucket, Ms, 20, 5'9 1/2", light, brown, blue
Thomas Place, Burlington, Vt, 19, 5'6", fair, dark, hazel
John Allen, Saratoga, NY, 18, 5'3", light, brown, blue
Richard Birdsell, Bedford, NY, 18, 5'3", light, brown, blue
John Sears, Saratoga, NY, 18, 5'5", fair, dark, blue
Christopher Cain, Waterford, NY, 20, 5'5 3/4", fair, dark, dark
John Smith, Harverstraw, NY, 19, 5'7", fair, dark, hazel
Clinton Soper, Harverstraw, NY, 19, 5'6", light, brown, hazel
Francis Sherman, Boston, Ms, 20, 5'6", light, brown, blue

48. "Ships spoken and heard fm [by the *Roscoe*] on Off Shore Ground, in lat 4 20 S, lon 121 W—Nov. bark Draco, Ray, Fairhaven, 750; Charles & Henry, Coleman, Nant,

350; Chas Carroll, Andrews, do, 1900; bark Rajah, West, N Bedford, 600; Acushnet, Pease, do, 800" (New York *Journal of Commerce,* May 17, 1843). The position of the *Charles and Henry,* as reported by the *Roscoe,* is erroneously set down as "42S 120W" in a good many newspapers. Such a position was not within the confines of the Off-Shore Ground, nor near that of the *Acushnet,* which was in 2°28' South, 122°57' West on November 9, 1842; in 00°56' South, 121°36' West on November 10; in 00°42' North, 120°43' West on November 11; and in 1°52' North, 119°31' West on November 12 (abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM).

49. "Ships spoken and heard fm [by the *Roscoe*] . . . Jan 25th, lat 34 10 S. lon 87 40 W. Moss, Austin, NBedford, 25 mos. 500; 27th, passed ship Chas and Henry, Coleman, Nant, steering E" (New York *Journal of Commerce,* May 17, 1843).
50. According to the Nantucket *Inquirer,* July 22, 1843, "Capt Hammond, of the Martha, reports the following ships, viz: Feb 6th, lat 22S, lon 112 45W, Helvetia, NL, 500wh 100sp, Feb 9th, lat 14N, lon 113 42W, Charles & Henry, Coleman, Nant, 400sp." This report of the position of the *Charles and Henry,* which appears in other newspapers, is clearly in error. In the first place, if the *Martha 2nd* were in latiutude 22° South on February 6 and in latitude 14° North on February 9, she would have traveled about 2,160 miles, obviously an impossible feat. If the *Charles and Henry* were near Mas Afuera on January 27, as reported by the *Roscoe,* she could not have made the roughly 3,000 miles to latitude 14° North in 13 days. Getting to 00°14' North latitude in thirteen days would have involved too much speed for a whaler. The correct position seems to have been 14° South latitude, 113°42' longitude West (and even that would have required good sailing, about 145 miles per day from the *Charles and Henry* position of January 27).
51. "Consular Returns, Lahaina, January 1—July 1, 1843," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59. The ship evidently reached the roadstead of Lahaina on April 26, 1843. See the Nantucket *Inquirer,* October 2, 1843, and "Consular Return Of American Vessels arriving at, and departing from Lahaina Maui . . . from the 1st of Jany 1843 to the 1st July 1843 inclusive" in "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" (box 30), Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84.
52. Coffin Whaling Papers, NHA.
53. Melville's "The Cabin-Table," Chapter 34 of *Moby-Dick* (149–53), suggests that he had a first-hand knowledge of etiquette in the cabin of a whaler.
54. It is no exaggeration when Melville says in *Omoo,* "My sheath-knife never cut into better sea-beef than that which we found lying in the kid in the forecastle" (76:290). The bills in the Coffin Whaling Papers indicate the high quality of provisions placed in the *Charles and Henry.*
55. In the logbook of the second voyage of the *Charles and Henry* (owned by Dr. Walter Willard Boyd) there is a list of books that seem to represent the ship's library:

    Dis[course] on var[iou]s subjects by [Rev.] Orville Dewey
    Lectures to young men on the formation of character
    The god of glory or A guide to the doubting
    Porters Journal

American track book B part voyage to St Helena
Lewis and Clark
National Reader, Force of Truth, much instruction for little reading.
Bible
Scotts do

NOTES TO CHAPTER 19

1. *Editors' note:* The original lines read, "A winding glass around we'll pass and damn this blubber whaling!" (Colcord, *Songs of American Sailormen,* 192).
2. "Consular Return, Lahaina, January 1–July 1, 1843," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59.
3. "Statement of Cases of Relief Afforded to destitute American seamen . . . Lahaina," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59.
4. John Stetson to William Hooper, Lahaina, May 18, 1843, in "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" (box 30), Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84. Since Stetson issued only one certificate to Captain Coleman ("Consular Statement of Fees Received at Lahaina . . . 1st of Jany 1843 to 1st of July 1843 inclusive," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 [microfilm M144, 1], NA-RG59), it is reasonable to assume that it was an inclusive one containing the names of Melville and Whiting as well as that of Wallace.
5. Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition,* vol. 4, 267.
6. Between January 1 and July 1, 1843, one hundred vessels stopped at Lahaina, while only twelve made port at Honolulu. At Lahaina 2,092 American seamen and 589 foreign ones were in port during this period, as compared with 144 American seamen and 109 foreign ones at Honolulu. See "Consular Return, Lahaina, January 1–July 1, 1843," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59.
7. Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition,* vol. 4, 267.
8. Report of Reverend Samuel C. Damon, published in *Temperance Advocate and Seamen's Friend,* May 20, 1843; quoted by Leyda, *Log,* April 29?-30, 1843.
9. Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition,* vol. 4, 251–77, gives a good near-contemporary description of Lahaina and Maui.
10. *Typee,* 30:225.
11. Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition,* vol. 4, 264.
12. Ibid.
13. "Consular Return, Lahaina, January 1–July 1, 1843," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59; logbook of the *Benjamin Rush* of Warren, Rhode Island (in NBWM), May 10, 1843.
14. "Annual Report, of Shipping at Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands, during the year 1843," Appendix to the *Temperance Advocate, and Seamen's Friend,* Honolulu, vol. 1 (1843): [77].
15. Nantucket *Inquirer,* October 2, 1843.
16. "Consular Return, Lahaina, January 1–July 1, 1843," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59.

17. Crapo, *New-Bedford Directory* (1845), 52.
18. John Stetson to William Hooper, Lahaina, May 18, 1843, in "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" (box 30), Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 376–77.
19. Stetson to Hooper, May 18, 1843, "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" (box 30), Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84. Nantucket *Inquirer,* January 7, 1843.
20. Jean Ingram Brookes, *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800–1875* (1941), 124–38, esp. 132. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 333–37.
21. Brookes, *International Rivalry,* 129–30.
22. Ibid., 131–32.
23. Ibid., 132. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 334.
24. "G. P. Judd Deputy for the King," May 10, 1843, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59.
25. Leyda, *Log,* May?, 1843.
26. Robert S. Forsythe, "Herman Melville in Honolulu," *New England Quarterly* 8 (March 1935): 99–105. Leyda, *Log,* June 1, 1843.
27. Leyda, *Log,* July 13, 1843.
28. Journal of Stephen Reynolds (in PEM), vol. 6, entry for May 26, 1843.
29. According to the "Consular Return, Lahaina, January 1–July 1, 1843," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59, the *Acushnet* remained at Lahaina, Maui, from May 29 until June 5, 1843. However, the abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM, states "came to anchor at Mowee in 15 fathoms of water" on May 27 and "got underweigh" on June 6. The text here follows the "Consular Return."
30. Certificate of John Stetson, Lahaina, June 2, 1843, in NBWM.
31. "Consular Return, Lahaina, January 1–July 1, 1843," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59.
32. Abstract log of the *Acushnet,* vol. 15, NA-MFM.
33. Abstract log of the *Acushnet.* Nantucket *Inquirer,* January 7, 1843.
34. Certificate of John Stetson, Lahaina, June 2, 1843, in NBWM.
35. Abstract log of the *Acushnet.*
36. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* May 2, 1843.
37. Information recorded on the back of the Master's Crew List and signed by Alex Ruden, Jr., United States Consul, Payta, December 14, 1842. Also, certificate of Alex Ruden, Jr., Payta, December 14, 1842, attached to Shipping Paper of the *Acushnet. Editors' note:* This certificate was attached to the Shipping Paper when Wilson Heflin saw it in the 1930s or 1940s at NBFPL, but it has since been separated and is now unlocatable.
38. Abstract log of the *Acushnet.*
39. Master's Crew List of the *Acushnet* and certificates, NA-W. Shipping Paper of the *Acushnet,* in NBFPL, and certificates, formerly attached to the Shipping Paper but since separated and now unlocatable.
40. Certificate of Alex Ruden, Jr., Payta, January 21, 1843, attached to the Master's Crew List of the *Acushnet,* NA-W.

41. Certificate signed by Henry Avey, U.S. Consular Agent, at Talcahuano, January 30, 1845, attached to the Master's Crew List of the *Acushnet,* NA-W.
42. Certificate of William Hooper, Honolulu, June 6, 1842 [1843], attached to the Master's Crew List of the *Acushnet,* NA-W.
43. On June 7, 1843, Hooper added the following remarks to his certificate of the previous day: "This is to certify that Thos Simmons was Shipped in lieu of Wm Ray who did not go to sea in the Ship."
44. Abstract log of the *Acushnet.*
45. John C. Beaumont, "Journal of a Cruise in the U.S. Ship Constellation," entry for July 17, 1843, subseries 66, NA-RG45. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery,* 368–69.
46. John C. Beaumont, "Journal of a Cruise," entry for August 5, 1843.
47. Ibid., entry for July 7, 1843.
48. Ibid., entry for July 15, 1843. Leyda, *Log,* July 26, 1843.
49. Leyda, *Log,* July 13, 1843.
50. John C. Beaumont, "Journal of a Cruise," entry for July 25, 1843.
51. Leyda, *Log,* July 26, 1843.
52. John C. Beaumont, "Journal of a Cruise," entry for July 31, 1843.
53. Leyda, *Log,* August 3, 1843.
54. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas,* 345.
55. Arvin, *Herman Melville,* 69.
56. Abstract log of the *Acushnet.*
57. William Hooper to John Stetson, Oahu, July 5, 1843, in "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" (box 30), Consular Posts, Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 20

1. The foregoing narrative is based on the affidavit of Captain Sluman L. Gray, made before John Stetson on March 22, 1843, "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" (box 30), Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84.
2. Stetson's appointment was approved October 1, 1842 (Acting Secretary of State Fletcher Webster to P. A. Brinsmade, "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" [box 30], Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84).
3. John Stetson to William Hooper, March 23, 1843, in "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" (box 30), Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84. This letter accompanied the March 22, 1843, affadavit of Captain Sluman L. Gray.
4. William Hooper to John Stetson, Oahu, March 27, 1843, in "Miscellaneous Letters 1838–1846" (box 30), Consular Posts: Honolulu, Hawaii, NA-RG84.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. "Consular Return, Lahaina, January 1–July 1, 1843," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59.
8. "Deposition of Mates and Crew of Ship Vineyard November 16th 1842," in "Seamen's Accounts, Estates and Miscellaneous Papers 1848–1858" (box 7), Consular Posts: Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, NA-RG84. The narrative is based on this deposition.

9. Melville says about such an action: "Here it must be remembered that, never mind what may be the provocation, no prudent officer ever dreams of entering a ship's forecastle on a hostile visit. If he wants to see any body who happens to be there, and refuses to come up, why he must wait patiently until the sailor is willing. The reason is this. The place is very dark; and nothing is easier than to knock one descending on the head, before he knows where he is, and a very long while before he ever finds out who did it" (*Omoo,* 4:16–17).
10. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* May 9, 1843.
11. It was recruiting at Lahaina during May 8–23, 1843; see "Consular Return, Lahaina, January 1–July 1, 1843," in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 1), NA-RG59.
12. The following account of the murder of Jepitha Jenney is based on depositions of Captain Hiram Weeks, Third Mate Michael Griffin, boatsteerers Edward Alvood and Robert Eldridge, cooper James Hackett, and seamen Frank Joseph and Samuel H. Goodhue, May 29, 1843, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 2), NA-RG59. Dialogue has been adjusted from written documents.
13. What may be a representative example of medical treatment aboard nineteenth-century whalers is found in the following entry from the journal of a boatsteerer: "about quarter before 7 AM, the fore top gallant mast broke short off to the cap carrying away the main royal mast with it the man at the mast head forward was siting on the royal yard at the time he was thrown off and catcht on the end of the fore topsail yard and from there down between the rail and swing boom when he catcht by the studing sail outhaul and hung on till he was bent on and haul'd in board and carried aft and the capt bled him and took him down in the cabin" (entry for September 13, 1839, Journal of Ship *Mentor* of New London, kept by James A. Rogers [microfilm in NBWM]).
14. Journal of Stephen Reynolds, vol. 6, in PEM. The *Temperance Advocate, and Seamen's Friend,* Honolulu (June 27, 1843), 30, erroneously gives the date of arrival as May 28. Reynolds recorded in his journal: "Friday 26. [May 1843] Fine morn. Ship Nassau. Weeks, 800 bbls 20 ms. one of his men cut off the thigh of the Mate, which caused his death in about 3-hours! . . . The Man who cut the Mate's leg off—was put in the Fort—and two men taken out to go home as witnesses:—"
15. Depositions of May 29, 1843, in Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 2), NA-RG59.
16. William Hooper to Commodore Lawrence Kearney, Honolulu, July 22, 1843, Captains Letters, NA-RG45.
17. His report is found in Captains Letters, September, 1843, NA-RG45.
18. Captains Letters, September, 1843, NA-RG45.
19. Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903 (microfilm M144, 2), NA-RG59.
20. *Temperance Advocate, and Seamen's Friend,* Honolulu (June 27, 1843): 30.
21. *Typee,* Appendix, 256–57.
22. Logbook of the *United States,* NA-RG45; reprinted in Anderson, ed., *Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean* (1937), 63, 71–72.

23. *Moby-Dick,* 54:242–59. This narrative appeared in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for October 1851 before *Moby-Dick* was published. See Robert S. Forsythe, "Herman Melville's 'The Town-Ho's Story,'" *Notes and Queries* 168 (May 4, 1935): 314.
24. Logbook of the *Potomac* of Nantucket, July 7, 1842 (in PEM).
25. Boston *Courier,* July 20, 1843.
26. "Report of the loss of the American Ship Cadmus on a Lagoon Island in the South Pacific on the 4th of August at midnight 1842," in "Accounts, Mutinies, Surveys, Estates 1841–1870" (box 5), Consular Posts: Tahiti, Society Islands, French Oceania, NA-RG84.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I

1. Other announcements or obituaries, all of them brief, appeared in *The* [Chicago] *Inter Ocean* (announcement August 25, 1892; article on the funeral August 27, 1892), the *Chicago Herald* (August 27, 1892), the [Pittsfield, Massachusetts] *Evening Journal* (August 29, 1892), the *Boston Evening Transcript* (August 26, 1892), *The* [Springfield] *Republican* (August 29, 1892), and in two unidentified papers August 27 and August 29, 1892. The *Inter Ocean* announcement gave Toby's age as 67. The *Inter Ocean* account of the funeral (which is almost identical to that in the *Chicago Herald*) states: "The funeral of Richard T. Green, hero of the Nukuhiva Island adventure, was held yesterday morning at 10 o'clock at his home, No. 111 Warren avenue. Many fellow Masons, comrades from the G.A.R., and other friends were present to pay their respects to the dead traveler, editor and soldier. The services were conducted by the Rev. George B. Platt, of the Church of the Epiphany, on Ashland boulevard, the ritual of the Episcopal Church being used. The Godfrey Weitzel Post, No. 425, G.A.R., had charge of the burial service, which was led by Chaplain W. R. Jamieson and Senior Vice Commander H. P. Steinson. The pall-bearers for the Weitzel Post, G.A.R., were: J. C. Miller, William Goodyear, W. H. Sheldon, and J. M. Thorn. The burial took place at Rose Hill Cemetery."
2. Records of Toby Greene's date and place of birth are abundant and contradictory. A sample of dating: born 1822 (Declaration of Invalid Pension, December 2, 1879, NA-RG15); born 1823 (deposition of James Greene, July 19, 1888, NA-RG15); born 1824 (deposition Richard T. Greene, August 19, 1879, NA-RG15; and 1880 US census Illinois); born 1827 (11th Illinois Muster Roll, NA-RG15). A sample of birthplace: Ireland and "naturalized" (1890 Chicago Voter Registration Lists); New York (1880 census); Rochester, New York ("Descriptive List of Deserters, Co. K, 11 Reg't Illinois Infantry," NA-RG15).
3. General Nathanael Greene (1742–86) had five children: George Washington (1775?-93), drowned; Martha Washington (1777–?), m. John Corliss Nightingale and Dr. Henry E. Turner; Cornelia Lott (1779–?), m. Peyton Skipwith and Edward Brinley Littlefield; Nathaniel Ray (1780–1859), m. Anna Maria Clarke; Louisa Catherine, m. a man named Shaw. Nathaniel Ray Greene had two children: Nathaniel (1809–99), m. Mary Jane Moore; George Washington (1811–83), m. Catherine Van Buren Porter. Nathaniel Greene "was the last lineal descendant of General Nathanael of the

Revolution bearing the name Greene." From: G. S. Greene and Louisa B. Clarke, *The Greenes of Rhode Island* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1903), 206, 500–01.

4. Records and information on the three ships Toby served on after leaving Nukahiva are from the monumental research of Steve Lampard, authority on nineteenth-century New Zealand shipping. Captain Howland appears as Jabez in his records.

5. Some key events in 1846 relevant to Toby's two defenses of *Typee;* as noted in *Correspondence;* Leyda, *Log;* and Parker, *Herman Melville: A Biography,* are:

Apr 9	review in *New York Evangelist* prompts Toby response defending accuracy of novel.
July 1	first Toby letter to the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.*
July 2	Melville sees Toby letter.
July 3	Toby letter reprinted in *Albany Evening Journal.* Melville letter to Evert Duyckinck says he expects to see Toby soon.
July 4	Toby letter reprinted in *Albany Argus.* Melville writes Edwin Croswell of the *Argus* confirming Toby's account.
July 6	Thurlow Weed in *Albany Evening Journal* retracts skeptical report of Toby letter.
July 11	Second Toby letter to the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.*
July 15	Melville writes John Murray enclosing first Toby letter. Melville writes Evert Duyckinck about his intention of seeing Toby. Between this date and July 22 Melville meets Toby (meeting noted in Allan Melville letter July 22).
July 30	Melville sends John Murray sequel to *Typee.*
Aug 6	Wiley and Putnam publish revised *Typee* with Toby appendix.
January 1847	John Murray publishes revised *Typee* containing Toby appendix.

6. The meeting of Melville and Toby is generally assumed to have been in Buffalo, but Thurlow Weed places it in Rochester; cited by Hershel Parker, *Herman Melville: A Biography,* 1, 445.

7. *Correspondence,* 65.

8. *Correspondence,* 588.

9. The common treatment in Melville scholarship of Toby's wife as a Derby has been the result of inference: if Toby is the brother-in-law of a Derby, the thinking runs, then his wife must have been a Derby; thus a Mary J. Derby was hypothesized. But records in the Genealogy Department of the Flower Memorial Library in Watertown, New York, as well as documents in NA-RG15, make it clear that Toby's wife was born Mary Jane Flower on April 5, 1824, in Gainesville, New York, and was married to Jeremiah Stone, who died in 1841. According to the Flower Watertown records Mary Jane's sister Charlotte was born in 1834 and was married twice, first to Chauncey Derby and then to Major General Lloyd Wheaton. General Wheaton appears, as does his wife Charlotte, as a supporter of Toby's pension petitions (see Note 28). The narrower definition of brother-in-law would permit Toby to say that he was the brother-in-law of Chauncey Derby's wife or to say that Chauncey Derby was the brother-in-law of

his (Toby's) wife, but the broader use of the term is recognized. Mary Jane Greene has put her ancestry on record in a June 23, 1886, letter to Hon. G. E. Adams in NA-RG15: "My Grandfather Ithuriel Flower was a soldier in the War of the Revolution and fought with Ethan Allen. My father Zephon Flower served in the war of 1812 and my husband was all through the Rebellion." Reference to some of Mary Jane's relations is also made in a letter from W. P. Black, August 3, 1885, NA-RG15.

10. The principal study of the Derby family is Walter Sutton, "The Derby Brothers: 19th Century Bookmen," *The University of Rochester Library Bulletin,* 3 (Winter 1948): 21–29. Also: J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., 1884); Madeleine B. Stern, *Books and Book People in 19th Century America* (New York & London: R. R. Bowker Co., 1978); John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States* (New York & London: R. R. Bowker & Co., 1972–81), Vols. 1 & 2.
11. Walter Sutton, "The Derby Brothers: 19th Century Bookmen," *The University of Rochester Library Bulletin,* 3 (Winter 1948): 27.
12. Certified Copy of Marriage Record; Probate Court, Lorain County, Ohio: "I hereby certify that on the second day of July, A.D. 1849 I duly solemnized the Marriage Contract between the said R. T. Green and Mary J. Stone. D. A. Grosvenor Minister." NA-RG15. On the death of Mary J. Greene's first husband: affidavit of Caroline G. Rankin, November 29, 1892, in pension petition of Mary J. Greene: "to affiants personal knowledge said Jeremiah Stone died about the Spring of 1841 at Evans, Erie County, New York. Affiant attended his funeral." NA-RG94.
13. *Correspondence,* 644–46.
14. *Correspondence,* 342n.
15. On Toby's articles in the Sandusky *Mirror,* his lectures, his editorships, and the press coverage of him see Clarence Gohdes "Melville's Friend Toby," *Modern Language Notes* 59 (January 1944): 52–55, and Kevin J. Hayes, "Toby's *Typee* Lecture," *Melville Society Extracts* 96 (March 1994): 1–4, which list over a dozen articles and lectures by Toby and as many reviews and news flashes about his work. Toby's subjects included *Typee,* Nukahiva, the Galápagos, and Nantucket.
16. *Correspondence,* 644–46.
17. *Correspondence,* 660–61.
18. *Correspondence,* 679–80.
19. *Correspondence,* 677.
20. *Correspondence,* 676n.
21. *Correspondence,* 685.
22. NA-RG15. The most complete treatment of Toby Greene in the Civil War is Stanton Garner, *The Civil War World of Herman Melville* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); Garner places Toby's experience against the background of Civil War history.
23. Transcript, typewritten, of undated Richard T. Greene deposition, NA-RG15.
24. Undated third person deposition of Richard T. Greene, NA-RG15.
25. Richard T. Greene deposition February 28, 1882, NA-RG15.
26. October 16, 1863, document about Toby's appointment as clerk, NA-RG15.

27. Letter of James S. Greene to Commissioner of Invalid Pensions, March 10, 1883, Chicago, NA-RG15.
28. Letter of James S. Greene to Commissioner of Pensions, January 27, 1885, Chicago, NA-RG15.
29. The figures of $75,000 to $100,000 are from a pension petition signed by Richard T. Greene citing affidavits by Lieutenant Colonel Loyd Wheaton and O. P. Martin, NA-RG15. Charlotte Wheaton, Colonel Wheaton's wife and Mary Jane Greene's sister, referred to this fortune as a "comfortable competency" in a deposition July 30, 1888, supporting Toby's pension petition, NA-RG15.
30. The detail about mortgaging furniture is from a letter of W. P. Black to "My Dear Brother" [General J. C. Black, Commissioner of Pensions], August 3, 1885, Law Offices of Dent, Black & Cratty Bros. [Chicago], NA-RG15
31. Claim form for increased pension, March 16, 1887, NA-RG15.
32. Physician's Affidavit of Dr. Joseph Haven, November 16, 1892, NA-RG15.
33. *Correspondence,* 646. Mary J. Greene died May 19, 1906. Herman Melville Greene, who had married Myrtle Means, died April 19, 1914, apparently without children.

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[Editors' note: Those items marked with an asterisk were consulted by the present editors, but not by Wilson Heflin.]

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